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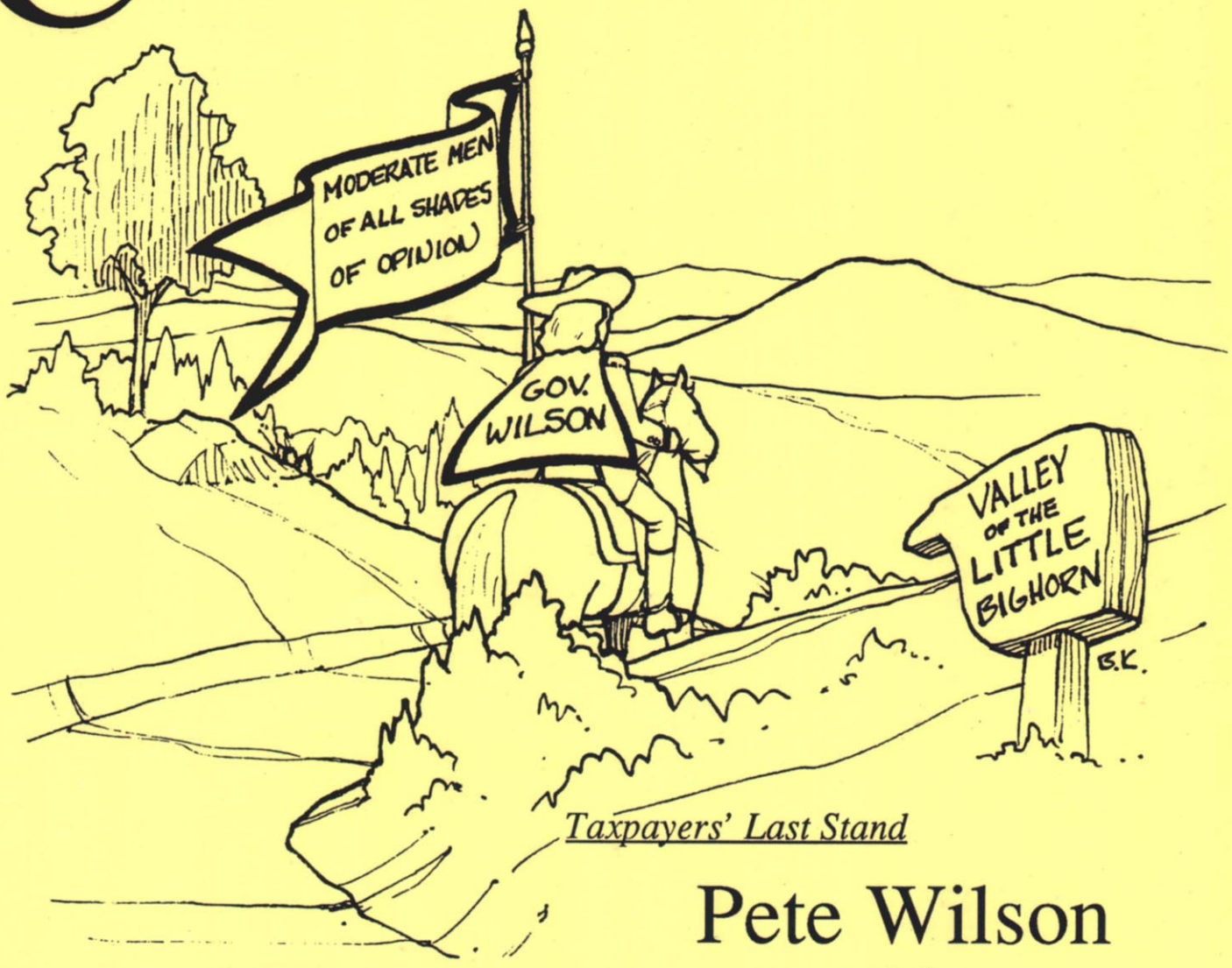

Taxpayers' Last Stand

Pete Wilson and the Art of Compromise

by John Kurzweil

Also:

Playhouse West's Thank you to the Troops

Peter Hannaford on Reagan & Thatcher

Alan Keyes' Common Sense Conservatism

Vol. 2, No. 3 *A Publication of the California Public Policy Foundation* Summer 1991

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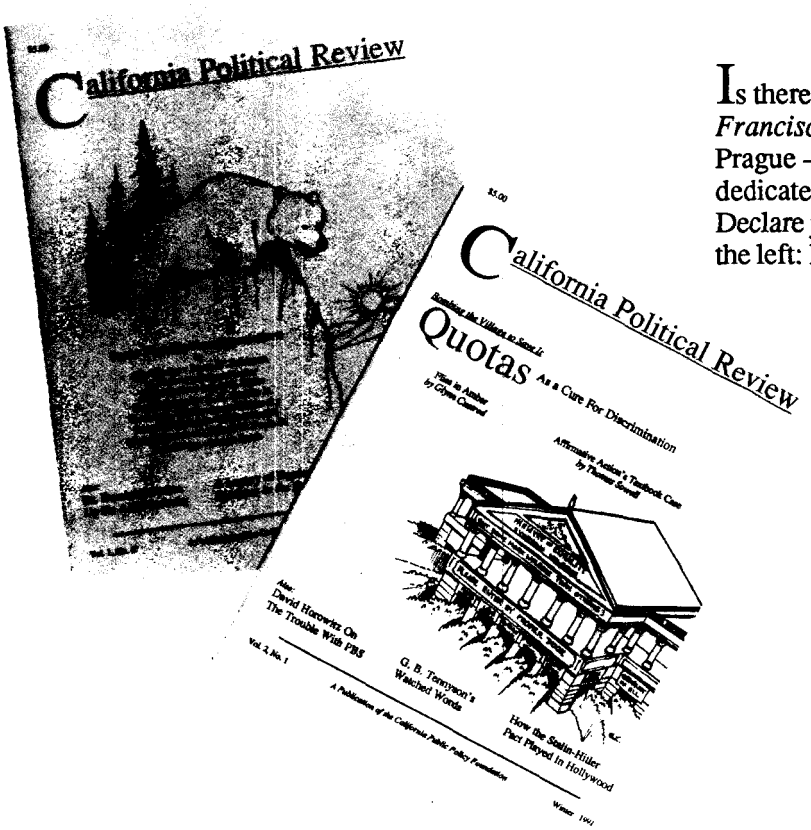
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California Political Review

Summer 1991

Articles

Pete Wilson and the Art of Compromise 8
A 10-year war between Republicans and Democrats reached a $14.3 billion climax this year. But at the final showdown, Gov. Wilson chose to switch rather than continue the fight. He left the field talking of Gen. Custer at Little Big Horn. But was this Wilson's, or only the taxpayers', last stand?
by John Kurzweil

An American Cultural Counterattack 14
Playhouse West says thank you to the troops.
by Robert Carnegie

Mobilizing the Conservative Army 18
Remembering John Barbagelata and the power of upstart grass roots campaigning.
by Gordon Bloyer

Features

Forum 20
Politicians propose massive, high-priced government programs because they're moved by compassion for the common man, right? Wrong, says Alan Lee Keyes, head of Citizens Against Government Waste.

Arts and Culture 24
Criticus: The Chair-Person of a distinguished private college has a Damascus Road experience. In *Books*: Peter Hannaford finds *one* recent book on Ronald Reagan that deserves to be called "literate," even "well-balanced." Also: *A Question of Character* leads even the *New York Times* to conclude that the *real* JFK "was no Jack Kennedy."

Worth Repeating 32
Kay Ebeling, who, in '73, carrying Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Ms.* magazine "left what could have been a perfectly good marriage," considers how feminism freed men, not women.

Correspondence 2
California Chronicles 3
Commentary 5
Sacramento Spectator 6

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Correspondence

Maybe the Story's *Too* Big!

Your excerpt from Phillip E. Johnson's *Darwin on Trial* ("Neo-Darwinist Pseudoscience," *CPR*, Spring 1991) shows how useless the Great American News Media can be. We have thousands of reporters roaming the countryside, diligently uncovering every scrap of important information so we won't be caught unawares by anything.

They're supposed to be our defense against ignorance, against superstition, against sliding into a new dark age, and on and on. But nowhere in the mainline press is this consummate fraud, Darwin, exposed. The schools teach it as fact. Darwinism forms the basis for whole museums, PBS series, cultural trends, and political philosophies. It's why a lot of people think religion is no longer "necessary" and that God is "no longer relevant." You'd think the fact that it's all without scientific basis would be news.

Maybe the story's too big. The whole idea of news is that, in a changing world without fixed truths, we have to stay on top of every new development or be lost. And Darwin convinces people that everything evolves, nothing is fixed, and that old certainties give way to doubt. Report that Darwin is dead and you undermine the role of "news" itself. I suppose we shouldn't be surprised if newsmen ignore a story that threatens their livelihood.

Frederick Rollins
San Bernardino

Searching for Pearls in Hollywood

Ken Khachigian ("Seizing the Initiative," *CPR*, Spring 1991) mentioned Chevy Chase's $50,000 last-minute contribution to Dianne Feinstein, suggesting that Republicans take notice. How can conservatives counteract this? By approaching publicly undeclared, prominent actors, producers, and directors and asking for support for *our* candidates? I suspect that method may not work. Michael Medved warned us ("Hollywood's Strange Compulsion," *CPR*, Summer 1990) that, though many of them vote Republican, they dare not admit it to others in the film industry for fear of rejection and potential loss of work. If this is so, how can we seek out the conservative ones?

Lillie Burr
Piedmont

Khachigian and Medved point to the radicalization of the Hollywood film community, which reflects a radicalism in the general culture. If your question is about fund raising, the answer probably is that Hollywood conservatives should be located and asked like conservatives in any other profession. But if you're asking: how do we achieve a more conservative Hollywood and a more conservative culture? your question is one of the most difficult conservatives now face. How is cultural decadence reversed? While it can be torn down relatively easily, culture can be built up only slowly and carefully, piece by piece. Mr. David Horowitz is engaged in a variety of projects directed toward this noble end. He would welcome your support. He can be contacted at the Committee on Media Integrity, P.O. Box 2669, Hollywood, CA 90078.
Editor

Ignoring Kitty Kelley

I'm glad to see you've ignored Kitty Kelley's attack on the Reagans. I know I may seem to be contradicting myself in writing this, but my real point isn't about Kelley. It is to say that it is perfectly all right to ignore what deserves to be ignored even if you are producing a review of current events and for some reason everyone suddenly seems to be talking about a topic hardly worth so much attention. Some people seem to enjoy rollicking in sewage. Perhaps it's consolation for misspent lives to think that even the high and the mighty are no better. But it is pleasant in this case to find *CPR* passing the whole sad nonsense by.

Karen Wedemeyer
West Los Angeles

But not entirely without a shot fired in Kelley's direction. See Peter Hannaford's review of Reagan and Thatcher, *page 26, this issue.*
Editor CPR

California Political Review

A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

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California Chronicles

John Gurley, editor

California Chronicles reports on current activities and projects of conservative leaders and organizations around the Golden State.

American Forum in Hollywood

Focus on the Industry
David Horowitz' Committee on Media Integrity has launched the American Forum in Hollywood to hold debates on issues of interest to the film and theater community. These Monday evening forums will be held at 7:30 p.m. at The Smoke House, 4410 Lakeside Drive, across from Warner Brothers Studios in Burbank. The first Forum, on August 26, will be on "The Vietnam Soldier and the Vietnam Protester" and feature David Hoffman, Vietnam veteran and former POW; Danny Goldberg, '60s antiwar protester and chairman of the Southern California ACLU; David Horowitz, '60s antiwar protester and co-director of the Second Thoughts Project; and David Alcaras, a Vietnam veteran.

A Forum on September 16 will feature Michael Medved, co-host of PBS's *Sneak Previews* and consider "Has Hollywood a Hidden Agenda?" Discussion follows. A panel will discuss "The Hollywood Blacklist: Reality & Myth" at a Forum October 7. And "Is Hollywood Environmentally Sound?" will be the topic October 28 — speakers to be announced.

The Committee on Media Integrity (COMINT) exists to promote balance in government-funded media. A $7 donation will pay for each event, plus a hot buffet. There will also be a cash bar. Advance registration is requested. Call Steve Carter *after* 5 p.m. at 213/471-1816.

New from *National Review*

Meeting Place/Studies Program
National Review Town Hall is a 24-hour, interactive communication service via desktop computer designed to help strengthen, mobilize, and build conservative organizations but "easy enough for even the most absolute computer novice."

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Also new from *National Review*: the NR Institute Studies Program, an electronic classroom formed to provide courses in conservative thought via computer right in your home or office. Bill Bennett, former Secretary of Education under President Ronald Reagan is dean of the Studies Program. The goal is to offer each student the opportunity to study courses ranging from politics and culture to economic theory and literature. Courses consist of weekly lectures for approximately two months and are offered twice a year. The computer allows you to interact, ask questions, and hold ongoing discussions with your professor and other classmates at your convenience. Students are mailed a working guide and orientation packet containing all the information and materials needed to start instruction. Students also receive free membership in Town Hall. Call 800/441-4142 to enroll automatically, or contact *National Review*, 150 East 35th St., New York, NY 10016.

Formula for Success

Self-help and Success
Errol Smith is a black man born in Harlem and raised in inner city New York who says he "moved *through* the urban black experience into Mainstream America." Now a

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36-year-old millionaire, Smith set out in 1983 "virtually penniless" but with an idea that he sold to three investors and then built into a multi-million dollar enterprise. He's written a book, *37 Things Every Black Man Needs to Know*, published this year. His main message is that each man's future — no matter his skin color — is in his *own* hands. He defines a real man as one comfortable and secure within himself, one who can act on what Smith calls the first thing every black man needs to know to succeed in America: *"Don't get mad, get motivated — then get busy."* That's the man who can learn to do business in both "Black America" and "White America."

Smith builds from there. His book clears up common misconceptions about business, teaches basic business concepts, and helps readers to develop new skills. Prime motivational material written with common sense in a straightforward, no frills style. 133 pages, $10. Contact: St. Clair René Publishing, 24307 Magic Mountain Parkway, #285, Valencia, CA 91355, 818/507-6484.

Inheritance Tax Revisited

More New Taxes?
A news release from Sen. Don Rogers (R-Bakersfield) alerts Californians to a "back-door attempt" to resurrect the state inheritance tax that voters repealed when they overwhelmingly approved 1982's Proposition 6. A plan now afoot among what Rogers calls "the big spenders in Sacramento [who] are desperately searching for any new taxes they can find" would impose taxes on the appreciated value of inherited property. Suppose, for instance, that your parents bought their home 30 or 40 years ago for $30,000 and it is now worth five times that much. You inherit the property and find that you must pay tax on the appreciation of $120,000. This is called a "step-up in basis" method of taxing property. But all it is, Sen. Rogers warns, is a return to the unfair business of death taxes that wiped out so many parents' life's savings upon their deaths *before* we passed Proposition 6. Contact: Sen. Don Rogers, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/445-6637.

In Brief....

Critical Review
This San Francisco-based publication says it "applies classical liberal insights to every field of human studies, and it includes not only pro- but anti-market views in lively debate." Topics range from apartheid, Aristotle, and the French Revolution to "rational expectations," "public choice," and central banking. *CPR* contributor Aaron Wildavsky calls *Critical Review* an "excellent journal." Contact: *Critical Review*, 942 Howard St., Dept. 2J, San Francisco, CA 94103. *Fax*: 415/541-0597. One year (four issues) $29.

The Poly Review
This 8-page, twice-monthly conservative student newspaper at California Polytechnic State University San Luis Obispo began publishing this spring. Features campus and club news, editorials, columns by Pat Buchanan and Thomas Sowell, and a page of "short fiction." Contact: Mat Higbee, editor, U.U. Box 309, San Luis Obispo, CA 93407.

Claremont Institute
President Ronald Reagan addressed the 1991 Captive Nations Week Conference, co-sponsored in July by the Claremont Institute and The Republic of China Chapter of the World League for Freedom and Democracy. "If things continue the way they have been going," Reagan remarked, "next year we will have to call it Free Nations Week . . . . At the start of this century there were only a handful of democracies. Today more than half of the world's people govern themselves." Reagan ascribed this progress in part to "the realization that it is free nations that prosper and free peoples who create better lives for themselves and their children." Contact: Dr. L. P. Arnn, Claremont Inst., 4650 Arrow Hwy., Montclair, CA 91763, 714/621-6825. CPR

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Commentary

A "New Republicanism"

The most important part of our freedom, inner freedom, is always subject to our will. If we surrender it to corruption, we do not deserve to be called human. But let us note that if the absolutely essential task is not political liberation, but the liberation of our souls from participation in the lie forced upon us, then it requires no physical, revolutionary, social, organizational measures, no meetings, strikes, trade unions — things fearful for us even to contemplate and from which we quite naturally allow circumstances to dissuade us. No! It requires from each individual a moral step within his power — no more than that. And no one who voluntarily runs with the hounds of falsehood, or props it up, will ever be able to justify himself to the living, or to posterity, or to his friends, or to his children.

— Alexander Solzhenitsyn
From Under the Rubble

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH, in choosing the title "The Age of Uncertainty" for his 1970s' PBS series on 20th century thought, distilled modern liberalism's fatal defect: a stultifying unwillingness to distinguish the real from the unreal. "Uncertainty" has, for them, become a refuge used to escape from the responsibility of moral decision-making. The liberal retreat from reality is thus a retreat from the essential activity of human life.

These musings come to mind in the context of recent discussions about a "new Republicanism" and "new conservatism" in California, a political position summed up, as GOP Rep. Tom Campbell did recently, as "fiscally conservative and pro-choice." Initially, the idea was presented as merely a loosening up of Republican thinking to allow greater diversity as the GOP became a majority party. We were creating a "big tent" with lots of viewpoints so plenty of people would feel at home with us. It is now plain that a good deal more than that has been going on. Consider, for a moment, the phrase "fiscally conservative and pro-choice."

"Fiscally conservative" sounds at first blush like standard Reagan fare, as though the only real change comes in the area of social issues. But saying "fiscally conservative" is not the same as saying "for limited government" or "pro-free enterprise." As Campbell, or Gov. Wilson, use the phrase, a fiscal conservative is one who approaches fiscal policy questions "realistically," with moderate expectations, and without ideologically-induced inflexibility.

THE POINT IS, unlike Reaganite conservatives, the fiscal conservative has no set preference for freedom over state power in economic matters. But also, unlike the left, he has no set preference for big government. Rather, he prefers to balance the two against one another, handling individual cases "pragmatically" as they arise, giving us more or less government as circumstances warrant.

The "pro-choice" part of the description means far more than opposition to laws against abortion. It means the state has no legitimate interest in questions of individual morality. Like the "fiscal conservative," the "pro-choice" Republican believes moral issues are best handled on a case-by-case basis and that set moral precepts, like set economic principles, bring inflexibility to a world too complex to be handled that way. And it isn't just that *government* should avoid such questions. "Pro-choice" applies across the board: it means that *no* settled notion of right and wrong can possibly apply to all men everywhere. It writes off anyone who thinks otherwise as intolerant, narrow-minded, bigoted, and so forth.

The only thing "new" in any of this is perhaps a little less than the usual liberal enthusiasm for government as problem solver. Aside from that, the "new Republicanism" is plain, old liberal relativism. Its "realism" says, in effect, that no enduring truths exist and that, therefore, we should be pragmatic — everything is negotiable. It is quite at home in Galbraith's age of uncertainty. And it is a mark of the shallowness of the minds involved in this enterprise that they seem to believe, having won a few elections to high office, that they can now remake the Republican party in their own image, that they can wave a hand and turn the meaning of the word conservative on its head. They are wading far beyond their depth. A brief history lesson might help them regain their wits. Shall we try?

WE MIGHT BEGIN by consulting Gerhart Niemeyer, a conservative political scientist with a grasp of conservatism the "new" Republicans would find useful. Niemeyer locates the beginnings of liberal relativ-

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Sacramento Spectator

Warfare in the GOP

THE TALK everywhere in the Big Tomato (at least in the stylish salons and chic watering holes your *Spectator* frequents) is of the open warfare between Gov. Wilson and the conservatives. Oddly enough, it appears that Wilson provoked this war on purpose. The battles have so far been waged in three venues: the budget negotiations, two special elections, and in Assembly Republican Caucus leadership battles.

There is no polite way to describe what happened to Wilson in the budget "negotiations." He was taken, snookered, played for the chump by Willie Brown and David Roberti. His highly touted budgetary reforms were watered down almost to nothing and he ended up with nearly $8 billion in new taxes, *the largest tax increase in history*. So after negotiating ineptly, who does he blame? Assembly conservatives who resisted his tax increases! The media, of course, praised Wilson's "responsible leadership." The governor opted for good press at the taxpayers' expense.

BUT THERE'S more! Because Assemblymen Tim Leslie (Sacramento) and John Lewis (Orange County) were elected to the state Senate, special elections to fill their Assembly seats were held in July. Wilson's "Big Tent" Republicanism dictated that *both* new members had to be pro-abortion, pro-gay rights, let's-be-responsible-on-the-budget Wilson Yes Men.

The Sacramento district's leading candidate was Barbara Alby, a conservative activist in the Christian community who didn't fit Wilson's view of the "new" Republican Party. Wilson "persuaded" B.T. Collins to oppose her, then pulled out all the stops — no threat was too outrageous, no club too blunt for this election. He forced the Republican National Committee to spend more than $100,000 for Collins, though *no Democrats* entered the race.

The campaign got ugly fast. Collins proclaimed himself an atheist then labeled "hypocrites" any Christians who brought their values to the political arena. After some local pastors sent a fund-raising letter for Alby to their parishioners, Collins said he "hopes those people drown in their own bile." After winning, Collins said he didn't have to build bridges to those who didn't vote for him because "those people are irrelevant. I don't ever want to hear from them." Collins outspent Alby roughly 5 to 1 but received only 47 percent of the vote to her strong second at 39 percent. Without his Wilson-supplied spending advantage, Collins would have lost.

In Orange County, the Wilson candidate was Bill Steiner; the traditional Republican conservative was Mickey Conroy, who walked off with an easy victory, chiefly because Steiner outspent Conroy *only* 2 to 1. Conroy's successful campaign opposed tax increases, abortion, and, basically, Gov. Wilson. Conroy's victory, coupled with that of conservative Dean Andal in a Stockton area Assembly special last May, means that of three special Assembly elections held since Wilson became governor, two have been won by conservatives campaigning openly against him — against his liberal social programs and tax increases.

LASTLY, WILSON engineered the coup that overthrew Orange County conservative Ross Johnson as leader of the Assembly Republican Caucus. Johnson was replaced by the more moderate (and Wilsonian) Bill Jones of Fresno. The action was plotted, strategy mapped, and the votes counted deep within the governor's office. Johnson refused to support Wilson's tax increases during the budget battles. Wilson could not let that situation stand and so was up to his hips in the leadership change. The governor's staff was described as so happy about Johnson's departure that they were "dancing on their desks."

Wilson's left the closet. He is quite open now about his abhorrence of conservatives and his plans to remake the Republican Party, in the words of his staff members, "as if 1964 never happened." Listening everyone? Pete Wilson thinks he knows who the enemy is. Do you? —*A.P.C.*

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ism in the rejection of Christian faith by Europe's "philosophes" during the Enlightenment. He quotes Voltaire, who is discussing his philosophy of history: "'Let us respectfully leave the divine to those who are its keepers, and attach ourselves solely to history.'"

Having thus begun by limiting the scope of their thought and inquiry, the philosophes made a habit of it. Voltaire's "universal" history actually consisted of arbitrarily selected facts from the historical record which qualified, in Voltaire's words, as "worthy to be known" and "useful."

MOVING ON TO Marx, Niemeyer cites his *German History*, which reduced history to a single causal factor: the change from one mode of economic production to another. Reality was trimmed and reshaped by Marx to fit pre-determined conclusions.

Niemeyer's phrase for the legacy of the Enlightenment for the West is "loss of reality," especially in understanding the human race through an understanding of its history. Post-Enlightenment thought has drifted consistently toward contrived substitutes for history, toward ideologically determined pictures of the world.

In 20th century America, myth-making has been taken up by the liberal who, Malcolm Muggeridge wrote, "has grown weary of the struggle to be free. He has come to find the burden of freedom he inherited from the past centuries of Christendom unsupportable."

Muggeridge quotes Leslie Fielder who wrote that there "is a weariness in the West which under-cuts the struggle between socialism and capitalism, democracy and autocracy; a weariness with humanism itself which underlies all the movements of our world, a weariness with the striving to be men." The liberals, Muggeridge concludes, suffer not from a delusion, but from an addiction. Like many addictions, this one drives them to embrace whatever works to destroy those things they hold closest and count most dear, "with a view ultimately to abolishing themselves."

Conservative ideas began a counterattack against this crusade toward oblivion with the founding of *National Review* in the 1950s. The editors found it to be lonely work. In the first issue, William F. Buckley Jr. wrote that the magazine "stands athwart history, yelling STOP, at a time when no one is inclined to do so, or to have much patience with those who urge it.

"*National Review* is out of place, in the sense that the United Nations and the League of Women Voters and the *New York Times* and Henry Steele Commager are in place."

A great deal has transpired since those early days. That nascent conservative movement, with Ronald Reagan as its primary agent, has transformed American ideas, returning a large measure of interest in reality to public affairs.

So where do the "new Republicans" come in? It seems their idea is to undo most of what conservatives have accomplished. For all that they *have* accomplished, conservatives still find themselves opposing the dominant spirit of the age which continues to be addicted to bringing about its own oblivion. And "new Republicans" don't like standing athwart history. They don't like feeling out of place. They want to be *in* place, in the sense that responsible tax increases, the *Los Angeles Times*, and Willie Brown are in place. As *CPR*'s *Sacramento Spectator* puts it in this issue, they aim to turn back the clock, to restore the nation to a pristine state "as if 1964 never happened."

HOWEVER THEIR IDEAS and objectives may be labeled, they are neither new nor conservative. And if we are to continue to have a two-party system in more than form alone, they should not be labeled Republican either. CPR

MARSHALL
Chicago Tribune
IT'S THURGOOD MARSHALL'S SEAT. THE PRESIDENT HAS TO APPOINT AN AFRO-AMERICAN, OF COURSE...
OR MAYBE A HISPANIC — SOME MINORITY.
— BUT DEFINITELY SOMEONE WHO WILL DEFEND THE GAINS WE HAVE MADE IN CIVIL RIGHTS - GAINS THAT HAVE MADE US MORE TOLERANT, AS A NATION....
GOOD GOD! A CATHOLIC!!
CLARENCE THOMAS
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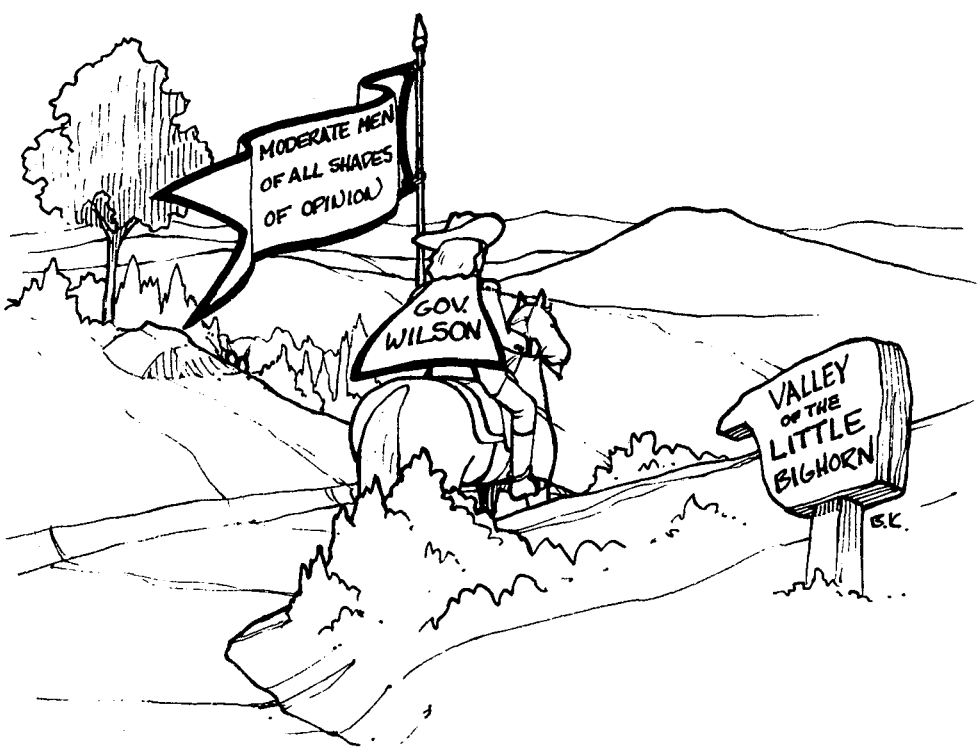
Pete Wilson and the Art of Compromise

A 10-year war between Republicans and Democrats reached a $14.3 billion climax this year. But at the final showdown, Gov. Wilson chose to switch rather than continue the fight. He left the field talking of Gen. Custer at Little Big Horn. But was this Wilson's, or only the taxpayers', last stand?

by
John Kurzweil

ASSEMBLYMAN TOM McCLINTOCK, whom the *Los Angeles Times'* Sacramento Bureau Chief George Skelton reports is "described by colleagues as an ideologue's ideologue," discussed California's 1991-92 state budget in his capitol office when I visited him there in late June. I had traveled to Sacramento to observe this year's Great Budget Debate — really two debates, as I was to discover. The first of these is over policy: specifically, how much of the people's money should they spend as they like and how much should government take to spent for them or, putting it more broadly, how much freedom should the people retain and how much socialism should they endure?

The governor, McClintock said, "hasn't faced up to our problem which is that the state is spending too much, spending inefficiently, and destroying the economy of California. This is very much a business as usual budget. It proposes a 12 percent increase in general fund spending over last year — in 'current' dollars [not adjusted for inflation], but the inflation rate hasn't been that high." The consumer price index increased five percent in California between 1990 and 1991 and is projected to increase four percent during the coming year according to the *Governor's Budget Summary 1991-92*. "The fact is," McClintock continued, "that over the past eight years, again in current dollars, state spending has increased 120 percent while the population's increased only 20 percent. Does that sound like a budget that can't be cut? To the governor it does."



THAT IS just the sort of unpleasant statement that has people calling McClintock a "loose cannon" or an "ideologue's ideologue." One just doesn't talk that way about the governor, especially when he is a member of one's own party and even less when he is locked in a difficult first-term battle in one of the most prickly areas of state politics. Others I spoke with would comment only "off the record." ("They [in the governor's office] are very sensitive about what they consider unsupportive quotes in the media," I was told by one individual who added dolefully that people had been "called on the carpet" over even trivial "unsupportive" published comments.) McClintock made no such specification.

In addition, McClintock is simply unfashionable. He is bucking a very long-term trend toward government

John Kurzweil is CPR*'s editor.*

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growth at private expense that will, it is widely taken as axiomatic in Sacramento, continue its present course, the only questions being at what rate and in what form. The night before I spoke with McClintock, at a friend's home where I was staying, I ran across a passage in Paul Johnson's book *Modern Times* that accords some perspective.

"In 1913," Johnson wrote in his section on the first World War, "the state's total income (including local government) as a percentage of GNP, was 9 percent in America." The war marked a dramatic shift, beginning a transfer of money and power from the people to the state that continues today with seeming irresistibility.

> . . . the [Woodrow] Wilson administration launched the United States into war corporatism . . . . The central organ was the War Industries Board, whose first achievement was the scrapping of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, a sure index of corporatism, and whose members (Bernard Baruch, Hugh Johnson, Gerard Swope and others) ran a kindergarten for 1920s interventionism and the New Deal, which in turn inspired the New Frontier and the Great Society. The war corporatism of 1917 began one of the great continuities of modern American history, sometimes underground, sometimes on the surface, which culminated in the vast welfare state which Lyndon Johnson brought into being in the late 1960s. John Dewey noted at the time that the war had undermined the hitherto irresistible claims of private property: "No matter how many among the special agencies for public control decay with the disappearance of war stress, the movement will never go backward." This proved an accurate prediction.

Nobel economist Milton Friedman traced government's continued taking of private property for state uses in an "Open Letter to State Legislators" dated April 2 of this year. Federal, state, and local government spending as a fraction of national income, Friedman wrote, reached 12 percent by 1929, 28 percent by 1949, and, by 1969, 36 percent, quadrupling the nine percent rate of a half century earlier. In 1989, government's consumption of America's income was approaching the half-way mark at 42 percent.

California state and local governments alone, by the early 1960s, were taxing away 11.3 percent of our income. That rose to 15.4 percent by 1978 when Proposition 13 forced a sharp decline, but only back to the level of the early '60s. The percentage then remained more or less stable at around 11 percent, thanks largely to Gov. George Deukmejian and the "Proposition 13 babies" in the Assembly GOP Caucus, until the late 1980s. Now, this year's tax increases are expected to begin the upward trend once more, adding a full point to the percentage of personal income taken by California state government. In this context, as McClintock sees it, since the governor believes government spending can't be cut, "he has produced a budget which will, instead, cut California family budgets" — pausing for emphasis between each word — "by over one thousand dollars for the average family of four."

Roberti deftly transformed the question into one of social respectability. The choice is no longer between socialism and freedom, but between compassionate Democrats who care about kids and right-wing Republican sell-outs to the rich.

This issue of private versus government spending is only half the debate over the budget, however, and probably much the less important half as far as most of those deciding these matters are concerned. From the point of view of most state officials and office holders — those put in authority over us, as Malcolm Muggeridge used to call them — the policy question: how much of our earnings should we keep and how much should government take to spend for us?, gets the debate off on the wrong foot altogether. It leads only to additional difficult and embarrassing questions.

Why should people who earn money be forced to turn it over to those who don't? That sounds suspiciously like theft. And, as a practical matter, how many people with even scant knowledge of recent history would conclude that socialist bureaucracies spend money more wisely, productively, or justly than the people do themselves through free markets?

Oh no, rather than get bogged down with such no-win questions as these, the modern statist drops the policy argument completely, transforming the debate

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into a morality play about personalities: about greedy, bloated capitalists and their toadies in government and the valiant crusaders for the poor who resist them.

"IT IS EITHER [protecting] the schools or saving the fat cats of California," said Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti last May, discussing Senate Democrats' proposals to raise state income tax rates. He said Wilson's proposals would so devastate education that the schools "can still operate, but the kids might as well not show up . . . . There will be no programs for them." *No programs*, though Wilson's budget proposal called for increasing kindergarten through 12th grade spending from $15.5 billion (during 1990-91) to $16.3 billion in the new budget. Roberti, according to the media, "produced no hard figures for the increased taxes" he was demanding. Why should he? The policy debate was over; Roberti deftly transformed the question into one of social respectability. The choice is no longer between socialism and freedom, but between compassionate Democrats who care about kids and right-wing Republican sell-outs to the rich. *We* don't want to be associated with people like *that* do we?

Nothing is new in any of this, of course. What is

Traveler's Advisory

THE OUTSIDER approaching Sacramento around budget time with an eye toward getting to the bottom of things quickly finds himself confronting a variety of booby traps, stink bombs, trap doors, smoke grenades, and other such diversionary paraphernalia employed by the locals in an effort to keep their doings cloaked in fog. One form these defense works often take is simple name calling. Talking about people, especially unpleasant, silly people, is a useful tactic to divert attention from the issues.

I was introduced to this particular gas grenade during my plane ride north from Los Angeles in June by one of George Skelton's juicier slices of "news analysis" in that morning's *Los Angeles Times*. Under the headline: "Assembly Republicans — Wilson's Big Frustration," Skelton's piece began by reporting that Assembly Republicans "routinely are called 'ideologues,' 'obstructionists' and 'cavemen,' and on occasion 'ignoramuses' or even 'orangutans.'" It quoted the opinions of various individuals that these members "would have a tough time holding a job in the 'real world,'" that they are "politically paranoid" and "intellectually dishonest," that, "by rights, they should be the . . . governor's strongest supporters in the Legislature. But they have been his greatest frustration." All this in the story's first two inches.

Skelton then portrayed the budget package as a "delicately crafted" product of reason and restraint by serious men wrestling with a vexing problem. After a few more paragraphs came two sentences from Assemblyman Pat Nolan actually addressing the policy issue: "We've had three decades of growth in state government, under Democratic and Republican governors, and what we've had is failed socialism in California, like they've had in Eastern Europe. Government tries to educate, feed, clothe, house, and medically care for our poor and does it poorly."

NOLAN'S STATEMENT only aroused the crowd to hisses and boos: "too doctrinaire, uncompromising, and impractical," wrote Skelton, summing up the opinion "of politicians and lobbyists in and around the Capitol" who "routinely denigrate the Assembly GOP caucus . . . . " Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene came forward to give the Democrat rebuttal to Nolan. The budget, Keene said, was being "held hostage by cavemen ready to vote us back into the Stone Age . . . . They're acting as if they're talking from another planet . . . . They're talking about politics and worn-out ideologies."

IT HELPS one understand what goes on in Sacramento to bear in mind that this caliber of debate is by no means exceptional among our elected leaders. It is perhaps yet another ill-effect of gerrymandering that the legislators, rarely replaced in office, have grown old together and like most people who see too much of one another for too long, they fall into personal attacks and squabbling more easily than into rational discussion. Still, it seems strange — to the outsider — that Barry Keene, for instance, can talk drivel with Sacramento bureau chiefs of major newspapers, casting socialism's *opponents*, not its supporters, as champions of worn-out ideologies talking from other planets and not only *not* be laughed from the room, but be calmly quoted as a responsible spokesman. It's one of the reality warps to be ready for when visiting the capitol.

— John Kurzweil

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new is that this year a governor appeared in the capitol apparently believing that not only the Democrats' class struggle rhetoric but also Republican legislators' talk of socialism and freedom *both* belonged to the public war of words, designed to appease the two sides' relative constituencies but not part of the serious business of governing. Wilson's repeated calls for everyone to quit "sniping" and to get down to the "serious" discussion of the budget shows his relative lack of interest in what James Burnham called the "protracted conflict" between freedom and socialism. It's as though he considered *that* argument to be an essentially meaningless theoretical exercise that could safely be suspended at least long enough to pass the budget. His first full-blown budget battle, however, demonstrated the impossibility of neatly separating the governing "process" from the underlying policy debate.

On our way home in the evening, we looked over the next day's leaders [editorials], noticing with much hilarity one which began: "One is sometimes tempted to believe that the Greeks do not want a stable government," and went on to express the hope that "moderate men of all shades of opinion" would rally around someone or other. Thenceforth, we often spoke of "moderate men of all shades of opinion."

— Malcolm Muggeridge

PETE WILSON has always been the "moderation" politician. In public, he is at his best in press conferences where an ability to remain unflappably cool under pressure conveys a reassuring image of leadership. He is at his worst giving stump speeches. He shows visible discomfort when he finds himself called upon to play the zealous campaigner, raise the emotional pitch, hoist the partisan banner, hurl the thunderbolts, and generally do his best to incite the crowd into a howling mob. The whole business seems to pain him physically, and not just because he is stylistically ill-fitted for the role of rabble-rouser. Pete Wilson dislikes crusading. He grows impatient with the endless power struggles and feuding of the legislative arena. That's one reason he has repeatedly left secure positions in legislative bodies to run for executive office. Another reason is that he feels the executive's job is to rise above the routine strife of politics and provide the leadership that moves matters forward, a role he finds much more satisfying. "The view within the administration," one of the governor's aides told me during my visit to the capitol, "is that Pete Wilson is a problem solver, is a pragmatist, but within an ideological framework." Thus, even before taking office, Wilson resolved, as the *Los Angeles Times* put it, "to have better relations with the Democratic-controlled Legislature than did his predecessor," or as Muggeridge's old *Manchester Guardian* leader writers might have put it, to try to get moderate men of all shades of opinion to rally around.

AFTER JANUARY figures showed that tax collections during the second half of 1990 brought in 3.8 percent more money than the previous year (but *not* the 7 percent increase that had been predicted and budgeted for), Wilson set the tone for the following six-plus months of budget negotiating by proposing $1.8 billion in "revenue enhancements" alongside a "reduction" in spending of about $4.1 billion to "close the gap" — a nice, "moderate" compromise, "spreading the pain" fairly. The trouble is, this apparent compromise is really a semantic trick. Wilson's 1991-92 *Budget Summary*, published in January, showed an estimated 1990-91 budget total of $50.6 billion and an estimated $54.1 billion total for 1991-92 — a $3.5 billion, 6.9 percent spending increase. The $4.1 billion "cut" was a reduction of spending increases scheduled in *addition* to the $3.5 billion. These increases are "required" by laws that assume the state will automatically spend a set amount for each person served by government programs — prisoners, welfare recipients, whomever — no matter how the number of people served rises or falls. Here's how it works:

Suppose a family with one child spends $100 during a given time period for that child's support. Along comes a second child. The family budget can't be arbitrarily doubled, but spending on the children is increased to $175. In the real world, that's a 75 percent increase in spending and the money has to come from somewhere, either from increased productivity to bring

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in more income, from less spending elsewhere, or both. Real people have to confront such situations as the spending increases they are. But not government.

In Sacramento, it would be assumed that, if we spent $100 on one child, with two children spending would automatically be $200 "just to stay even." The $175 figure would be called a 12.5 percent spending "cut" and would be accompanied by howls about balancing the budget on the backs of helpless newborns. By failing to reject, and instead adopting, this politically potent but patently dishonest context in which to discuss "compromise" between "tax increases" and "spending cuts," Wilson waived his chance to rescue the budget debate from liberal fantasyland. He never recovered.

AT THE end of March, new figures revealed that the "gap" between projected spending increases and revenues received by government had grown to $12.6 billion. At a news conference in the capitol, Wilson displayed charts showing that, since 1985, while California's population has increased 20 percent, tax revenues have grown three times as fast at 60 percent. But these increases have been dwarfed during the same period by spending: for prisons, 200 percent; for Medi-Cal, 120 percent; for welfare, 115 percent; and for public schools, 70 percent. A month after the $12.6 billion figure came out, Wilson increased his budget "cut" proposal from $4.1 to $4.8 billion. Then he dropped the bomb: $6.7 billion in new taxes. Suddenly, Wilson's stock among Democrats soared. He was "a leader who's willing to take risks," in Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene's opinion, "a guy who wants to solve problems," according to Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, and the author of a "reasonable alternative approach," in the opinion of David Roberti. Tom McClintock called the proposal "preposterous."

WITH WILSON now committed to "compromise" on their terms, the Democrats promptly upped the ante. On May 1 Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and, on May 2, David Roberti blasted Wilson for proposing to raise the *wrong* taxes. Wilson's plan increased the sales tax. That would be bad, Brown said. Sales tax hits the poor hardest. Using Wilson's own proposals as a shield, Brown could safely shift the argument's focus from tax increases to fairness. He could, and did, demand that, since we're raising taxes anyway, the rich should pay more income tax. Roberti seconded him. As for Wilson's grand compromise, Brown calmly announced that a major part of Wilson's spending "cuts" — in Aid to Families With Dependent Children — "will not pass either house of the Legislature."

By June, the budget "gap" had yawned still further, reaching $14.3 billion and the question of how to close it had completely eclipsed the genuine policy issue between freedom and socialism. Although Wilson had called his April proposal "not a floor from which to negotiate upward" but "a budget solution," bargaining now began in earnest. The governor dropped his six-month effort to suspend Prop. 98's education funding guarantees which was meeting resistance not only from Democrats but from Republicans who didn't relish "less education and higher taxes" as a campaign theme for '92. Proposed tax and fee increases rose to $7.8 billion. "Cuts" were said to total $5.1 billion, though the budget the Assembly passed June 20 increased spending 11 percent over the 1990-91 fiscal year.

By July 1, Wilson's $4.2 billion sales tax increase had become law, along with $1 billion in other fees and taxes. A $630 million "telecommunications" tax on telephone, TV cable, and water bills had passed the Senate but stalled in the Assembly when business groups said it was worse than the income tax increases Democrats had been demanding. Wilson then dropped his six-month opposition to income tax hikes, offering to support temporary increases if the "telecommunications" tax was dropped and business compensated with reform of the workers' compensation system.

Under current law, workers can receive disability in-

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surance payments for on-the-job stress if they show that 10 percent of the stress comes from their job. Wilson asked for a 50 percent requirement and that no payments be made for stress caused by lawful personnel actions. Public employee unions howled. Roberti explained that public employees seek disability pay for stress more often than workers in the real world. No one seemed surprised.

A few days later, Willie Brown announced a counter proposal: increase the stress requirement to 30 percent, disallow payments for stress from lawful personnel actions, and repeal California's decades-old minimum price controls on workers' comp insurance premiums. Insurance companies, which donate heavily to the GOP, are protected from competition by the "minimum rate" laws and favor their retention. Thus, Brown's idea forced the governor and Republican legislators to choose between a genuine free market reform and remaining on good terms with a key support group. It didn't take them long to decide. Wilson and other Republicans (though not McClintock) opposed minimum rate repeal. In the end, minimum rate repeal, Wilson's 50 percent *and* Brown's 30 percent job-related stress proposals were all dropped from the package. The final "reform" agreement saves employers $60 million.

With Wilson now committed to "compromise" on their terms, the Democrats promptly upped the ante.

With workers' comp out of the way, enough Assembly Republicans joined the Democrats to pass the final $2.3 billion in tax increases sought by the governor on July 16. Wilson signed the new budget that night.

Henry: Dudley, you can go now. I've solved my problem . . . . Mrs. Hamilton is giving the money for the cathedral.

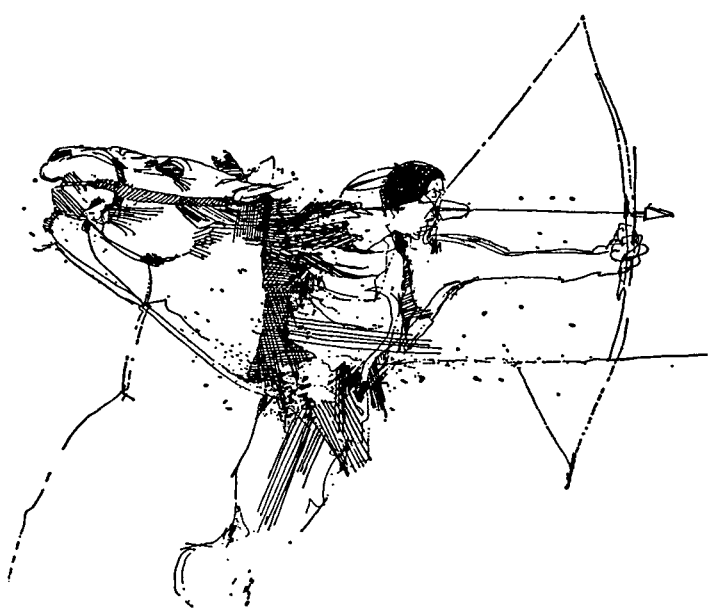
Dudley: Oh. Well, that was a foregone conclusion if you were willing to make a slight sacrifice of your principles.

— The Bishop's Wife

APPEARING ON national television a few days after the final budget skirmishes, Gov. Wilson compared himself to Gen. George Custer and described his recent experiences as like a ride into a Little Big Horn valley of his own where he was ambushed by a constantly-growing, eventually enormous budget gap that "no one could have expected." When the showdown came, "Like Custer, I didn't have quite the troops, didn't have the votes and the clock ran out." But, he said, unlike Custer, "I'll survive." Will he? More importantly, in what condition will the California Republican party survive the massacre?

WILSON'S CUSTER comparison was apt. This defeat was humiliating and total. On the political level, the tax issue has been taken off the board as a GOP weapon against Democrats in California. *They* emerged fully willing and able to continue bashing Wilson and his party as water carriers for fat cats, as insensitive to the plight of the poor, the downtrodden, and so forth. Wilson's compromises, meanwhile, implicitly conceded much of the Democrats' arguments while making it almost impossible to re-focus the political debate on the policy question between bloated government and the right of the people to keep what they earn. Who will believe a Republican candidate playing that tune now? A campaign theme of first-term Assemblyman Paul Horcher last year was that Horcher would be the "last" Republican to vote for a tax increase. After he gave the govern-

(Please turn to page 30)



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An American Cultural Counterattack

Playhouse West Says Thank You to the Troops

by
Robert Carnegie

IN THE mid-1970s, I had the privilege of attending sessions of Harold Clurman's writer-director workshop at The Actors Studio in New York City. Mr. Clurman, who founded The Group Theater in the '30s, is recognized as one of the outstanding directors of his time and as having been perhaps the most respected theater critic in America. His pieces appeared regularly in the pages of *The Nation* until his death a little more than 10 years ago. One of Mr. Clurman's many memorable observations was that actors should avoid politics. He said they're too naive, too childlike, too easily taken in and manipulated. He was no doubt thinking of his own experience in the '30s when members of his Group Theater were influenced to become members of the Communist Party and then ordered to take over the Group. *Real Life Drama*, Wendy Smith's history of The Group Theater, described what happened:

> The darkness of the outside world was closing in on the Group . . . . On August 23 Germany and Russia signed a nonaggression pact, each nation promising to remain neutral toward the other in the event of war. The shock to American radicals can hardly be overstated . . . . Suddenly, the nation they'd viewed with naive veneration as the home of a brave new experiment in better, fairer social relations had made an alliance with a government they regarded, with every justification, as the incarnation of reaction and evil.
>
> When news reached Smithtown (where the Group actors were rehearsing for their upcoming season), a pall settled over the company. Sidney Lumet saw Odets standing on the dining room porch, tears rolling down his face. Eleanor Lynn remembered lying in the grass with Gadget Kazan, who tried to explain to the shocked and angry young actress that the Soviets must have their reasons. Frances Farmer, too, asserted defiantly and disconsolately, "Stalin must know what he is doing."
>
> The need of the Group's more committed radicals to believe in the Soviet Union was great, especially at a time when their ideals at home seemed beleaguered and incapable of realization . . . . Nonetheless, no amount of rationalization could hide the fact that a government they'd believed was different had been revealed as a power monger like all the rest, willing to sacrifice principles for the sake of political and territorial gain.

THE GROUP Theater was made up of the finest, most dedicated actors of that time. They turned down high-paying jobs on Broadway and in Hollywood to create real theater based on an ensemble approach that has not been equaled to this day. But they were duped into believing and supporting a lie. Their idealism, another trait common to actors, got the better of them.

Robert Carnegie is founding director of Playhouse West, an acting school in North Hollywood.

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Actors haven't greatly changed since those days, though the causes have. So, at my acting school, Playhouse West, as part of the actor's training, we include some education I hope will encourage our students to think twice before following every Hollywood political fashion and "in" cause that comes along.

THIS IS no small job. My students generally range in age from 19 to 25 and the quality of their education is often appalling, including that of the college graduates. For example, a relatively new student just graduated from politically correct Stanford University. In one acting exercise, I ask the students to ask one another questions. When I asked our Stanford U. graduate to ask a question, he made, instead, a statement. I asked him again: "That was a statement. Please ask a question." Mr. Stanford U. makes another statement. A bit of dialogue revealed that our Stanford University graduate, in fact, did not know what a question was.

As I wrote recently to the president of Santa Monica College, "I get your failures." I am teaching young people who have no standards, no values, no sense of morality, and next to no education. I have had to introduce a reading program at the school. Every month they turn in a reading list of the books they've chosen and the total number of pages they've read. I have had to add this to my regular acting program because these young people have no understanding of life and how it works. They know nothing of history, literature, or art.

I added an essay program to see if they understood what they read well enough to discuss it. Some of the writing was good, but in many cases it was so poor I was surprised it wasn't written on a paper bag — in crayon. You may think I'm exaggerating. I am not. But I also believe we are, at Playhouse West, making progress.

TO ILLUSTRATE *how* we are making that progress, I'd like to tell about a recent production of the school, a play called *Welcome Home, Soldier*. It began during the Christmas season last year. U.S. troops were being deployed in the Persian Gulf and war seemed imminent. At a Tuesday night class I took a poll. How many peaceniks, I asked, do we have here? Almost the entire class of 25 raised their hands. I wondered how many of these people knew what was at stake, who knew anything at all about the madman who had brutally invaded Kuwait, about his ambitions for conquest and the cataclysmic war they threatened to bring to the entire Middle East and to the world, and how many, on the other hand, knew only that being a peacenik was fashionable in Hollywood.

About a year earlier I had started a school newspaper called *The Playhouse West Standard*. When the war began I went to work on a special "Wartime Edition." A replay of the Vietnam "peace" movement was shaping up. "Lines in the Sand," a protest song by Randy Newman, Grammy-winning film composer and writer of pop hits like "I Love L.A.," had already hit the airwaves: "Blood on these children/A stain on the land/If they die to defend/Some lines in the sand." The protesters were hitting the streets and the media was covering them, making it seem the entire country was against the war. "Experts" were trotted out to forecast 10,000 bodybags coming back the first week.

I felt if we could somehow put those experiences on stage we would demonstrate the hypocrisy of the peaceniks and, more importantly, stir up appreciation for American soldiers.

I WONDERED what might be done to *support* the cause. The special edition of the school paper detailed why our troops were in the Saudi desert and why we at home owed our support to them and to the president. I said what I could in the classes. I took no more polls but I believe the paper changed many minds and kept many students off the protest lines. I believe we were the only arts institution in the country to back the president and support the war.

When the fighting began, I became concerned about the treatment our soldiers would receive when they returned home. Returning Vietnam vets had often been spit on and in other ways abused at airports and dockside by hypocrites chanting about Peace and Love. Were the peaceniks planning similar abuse for veterans returning from the Gulf? We decided to do some research on the experiences of Vietnam vets when they returned home. The students read books and watched tapes of documentaries on the war and about the reception given the returning vets. Most important, they visited veteran centers and talked with the soldiers themselves to learn their stories firsthand. The emotional

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power of their reminiscences was overwhelming. I felt if the students could somehow put these experiences on stage they would accomplish two worthwhile things: demonstrate the hypocrisy of the peaceniks and, more importantly, stir up appreciation for the American soldiers who risked everything for us in going to war. I had no idea that Desert Storm would long be over or that I would almost forget about the project before I saw it on-stage.

SOMETHING WONDERFUL happened during the early days of the war. The American people, perhaps remembering Vietnam and our betrayal of our soldiers then, did not leave the streets to the protesters this time. As I worked in my corner, many others worked in theirs. A victory was quickly won.

In late April, several students approached to tell me that the project was ready to present on stage. They did so on a Wednesday night for the student body. The soldiers' pain came across the footlights with resounding power: there were soldiers given a party at Disneyland — all of them on crutches, in wheelchairs, or using walkers — who were squirted with mustard and cursed while waiting in a line, a young man who returned to college without his left arm who was repeatedly told he deserved to lose it, a Marine spit on from a passing car, a woman showered with raw eggs at an airport, and a family that lost a son in Vietnam and had callers laughing at them over the phone. A soldier on burial detail tells of taking a coffin with an American flag draped over it from a hearse when, from nowhere, a protester appears and says, "Good, he deserved to die," and then spits on the coffin.

SINCE THE students finished writing it long after the Gulf war was over and won, the play could show the progression in America from the terrible treatment given Vietnam veterans to the acceptance, gratitude, and true welcome home accorded the veterans of Desert Storm. It became a tribute to the courage and strength of character of American soldiers down through history. Its theme is that we are responsible one to another, that how we treat one another, with love or with hate, is important, that it makes a difference in people's lives.

A brief scene midway through the play, for instance, shows a young soldier alone in an airport on Christmas Day. First, two grinning flowerchildren approach to ask: how many people have you killed, babykiller? They leave the young man devastated, but shortly thereafter he is approached by a middle-aged couple. They tell him their son has gone to the war and invite the soldier to share their Christmas dinner with them in his place. The wound is healed; the protesters forgotten.

THE '60s AND '70s provided plenty of accompanying music — "All You Need Is Love," "Teach Your Children" — to show, when played at appropriate points during the performance, that some of the protesters didn't exactly walk it like they sang it. The play ended, to the strains of "God Bless the U.S.A.," with a rousing welcome home for returning Persian Gulf veterans. Gen. Schwarzkopf's words, taken from his address to Congress, were heard over the music: "The naysayers, the prophets of doom, the flag burners, and the protesters all said you wouldn't stick by us. But we knew better. We knew you'd never let us down. By golly you didn't."

Vietnam veterans attended in growing numbers as word about *Welcome Home, Soldier* got around.

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Some of the veterans called our play a "healing experience." Some came again and again.

One was so enthusiastic he took a handful of flyers to pass out at UCLA. The next week he told us that a student, a young woman, took the flyer and walked over to show it to her friends. Then they all laughed at him as she tore it to bits.

A Vietnam veteran brought his fiancé a few weeks ago. They sat in the front row. Toward the end of the play they were involved in animated conversation. Then at the curtain call they both ran out. I wondered if he'd found something objectionable in the play.

Later my producer told me she spoke with him briefly before they headed out the door. It turned out that his fiancé did not know all he had gone through. He had never been able to talk about it. But he said this was the most realistic depiction of his situation he had seen in the 20 years since he came back, and his fiancé was so disturbed by it she couldn't stay in the building a second longer.

A Vietnam veteran brought his fiancé a few weeks ago . . . . he said this was the most realistic depiction of his situation he had seen in the 20 years since he came back. His fiancé was so disturbed by it she couldn't stay in the building.

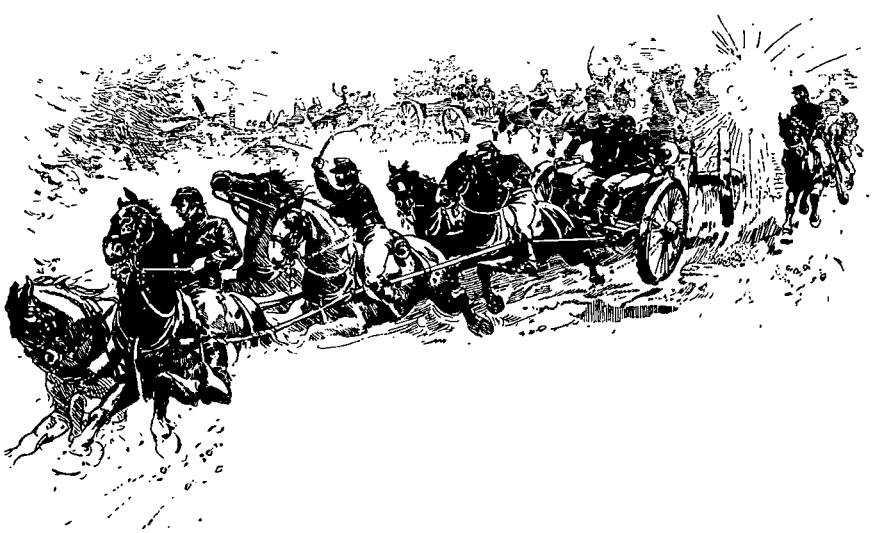
PERHAPS THE most moving experience for the cast occurred one Saturday evening when a Gulf veteran attended. This young soldier had been home only about two weeks. He told us the closing scene *exactly* reenacted the experience he had when he landed after his long journey back home. The scene we made up hoping this sort of thing would happen came true!

I asked this young fighter pilot how he felt about the protesters he had heard were demonstrating around the country while he was preparing for war in the Persian Gulf.

"That's why we're there," he replied, "so they can do that." In his farewell address to the nation, Ronald Reagan stressed the importance of teaching our children that America *is* freedom. "And freedom is special and rare. It's fragile; it needs protection." This young pilot, 22 or 23 years old, who put his life on the line so that those who disagreed with what he was doing could get out on the streets and say so, embodies the spirit of freedom Reagan talked about in his farewell address.

ONE STUDENT at our school, after seeing the play, said, "I will never again believe there is only one side to something. I was always for peace, peace. Now I see there's another side." Others branded the play "fascist." Just how this tribute to American soldiers (wasn't it American soldiers who defeated fascism?) could have been so labeled escapes me, unless the answer is plain ignorance. And the answer to *that* is to educate, to present the other side of things so a 23-year-old acting student, who has been to high school and college, can finally say, "Now I see there's another side."

I'D LIKE to make one final point, about financing. *The Playhouse West Standard* regularly criticizes the way the government, via the NEA, doles out our tax dollars to the most ridiculous art projects. Actually, to argue about who and what receives this dole misses the point. Why should *any* artist have his way paid by some hard-working farmer or secretary or man on an assembly line? But nevertheless, the big controversy is about whether or not the withdrawal of funding consti-



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tutes "censorship." The artists on the dole are up in arms, screaming censorship whenever their funding is threatened.

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I am happy to report that through the play's nine performances we played to standing room only crowds. The moral? Stand up for what you believe so that others with less courage may be encouraged to do the same. Make some financial sacrifices for the good of others and this country. You'll make a difference, and you'll be part of the new counterculture in America. CPR

Mobilizing the Conservative Army

Remembering John Barbagelata and the Power of Upstart Grass Roots Campaigning

by Gordon Bloyer

ONE PARTICULARLY warm day in 1975, while driving up Highway 101 past Candlestick Park, I was listening to KGO talk radio. The topic was San Francisco's upcoming mayoral election and caller after caller was extolling the virtues of a conservative candidate named John Barbagelata. I found it amazing that so many callers in this liberal city favored the only conservative in the race. He was opposed by George Moscone, Dianne Feinstein, and Milton Marks. No one gave Barbagelata a chance. An outspoken conservative, he favored free markets and tax cuts. As a county supervisor, he criticized "prevailing wage" regulations in government contracts that forced taxpayers to subsidize bloated payrolls for public projects. The unions, of course, hated him. To top it off, he opposed so-called gay rights laws.

The newspapers and even the talk show hosts assumed Barbagelata had just encouraged friends to write letters to the editor and to call the talk stations. They did not believe that these people reflected any significant segment of public opinion. After all, this was San Francisco. No right-wing loony was going to get elected in liberalism's California capital. But on election day, while George Moscone pulled in 66,752 votes, John Barbagelata came in second at 40,933 to beat Feinstein by less than 1,500 votes.

A run-off had to be called — Barbagelata versus Moscone — and again prevailing opinion assumed it would be an easy liberal victory. But Barbagelata's army went to work once more: calling and appearing on talk shows, writing letters, walking precincts, talking to voters. The money, meanwhile, was all in the Moscone camp. When the votes were counted December 11, 1975, Moscone, with 100,077 votes, had narrowly defeated the upstart Barbagelata, who received 95,807 votes.

The Barbagelata campaign proves that conservatives do not have to alter their political positions to win large numbers of votes *even in liberal enclaves*. It proves that a good organization and a network of loyal followers can influence public opinion. It proves the power of talk radio and letters to the editor. Barbagelata's strength was in his clear, uncompromising positions and in his network of trained supporters who "broadcast" those positions to the people of San Francisco.

IN 1983 I BECAME a member of Citizens for America, a national grass roots organization established to support the policies of President Ronald Reagan. CFA attempted to organize every congressional district in the country. When critical issues arose, CFA members received concise information directly from the administration in support of the president's position. Armed with the facts, I spoke on numerous television and radio talk shows and had many letters printed in

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newspapers all over the country. I echoed the arguments that the administration itself was making and that were being repeated by CFA members across America. Having so many people from so many directions hammering away at the same points over and over tremendously increased our impact. My reward was a trip to the White House, paid for by CFA, to meet the president. Rewards like this for the hard working volunteers are an essential part of making this kind of volunteer, grass roots organization work. My experience with CFA and the success of Barbagelata's operation convinced me that every conservative political campaign should have well-organized, well-trained volunteers whose assignment is to convey the campaign's message to the voters using both broadcast and print media in the ways I have described.

Conservative campaigns succeed when they are centered on solid issues. And when ideas and values are your strongest points, a well-run grass roots operation to carry them to the voters is not only smart, it is absolutely necessary.

For example, a statewide election campaign would start by organizing each of the major media markets around the state. An experienced leader would be hired to find and train the volunteers and to establish a distribution network to supply them with information and arguments. These people would also monitor talk shows, recording opposition candidates and saving the tapes. Liberals can be relied upon to make stupid comments that can be made to come back to haunt them *if* they are recorded. Democrat Rep. Barbara Boxer's file would be bulging with potent material if someone had been recording her on-the-air remarks the past year or so. Also, if a talk show host or an opponent attacked one of our candidates, the taped comment would be sent to our candidate who then could respond immediately. Lies should not go unanswered. Also, our candidates look informed and organized when they call a talk show that gives out false information and proceed to rebut it. They reach the same audience that heard the attack the night before and put the talk show host on notice that in the future he had better be factual.

THE SAME method can be used for local television news. Our opponent on a campaign swing around the state might take advantage of two or three minutes on the nightly news to trash our man with no response from the local newscaster. If our people tape the exchange, our candidate can ask the station for time to respond. If the station refuses, he could then show the tape at a news conference to make his case and to prove local media bias.

The sort of organization I'm discussing can be put together cheaply. And, considered in terms of the cost of radio and television commercials, these volunteers can be worth their weight in gold.

I DON'T mean that organizing an effective group of this kind is easy. First, it requires experience, knowing the answers to key questions: How do you recruit people who can and will do the work? How do you train them so they won't sound like shills or write letters that read like campaign propaganda? What are the best times to call talk shows? How often can you call? What do you do if your call is screened? To be effective, the effort must be run by an organizer who knows the right answers to these questions.

Second, the candidate must be right. The organization will go nowhere unless it has solid ideas and consistent values to convey. It requires a candidate who believes in more than just winning himself a job. Conservative candidates and campaigns succeed when they are centered on solid issues. And when ideas and values are your strongest points, a well-run grass roots operation to carry them to the voters is not only smart, it is absolutely necessary. Conservative candidates can still learn from the campaign of John Barbagelata. The conservative army is out there. It needs only the candidate-leader who sees its potential to mobilize it. CPR

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Forum

Escape From the Liberal Plantation

Politicians propose massive, high-priced government programs because they're moved by compassion for the common man, right? Wrong, says Alan Lee Keyes, head of Citizens Against Government Waste. He adds that a little knowledge of American history would help people take a more realistic view of men from the government who say they're here to help us. Founded in 1984, CAGW is supported by its 350,000 members to promote the cost-cutting recommendations of the Grace Commission. Dr. Keyes was Assistant Secretary of State from 1983 to 1985 and later U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. For further information, contact: Citizens Against Government Waste, 1301 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Ste. 400, Washington, D.C. 20036, 202/467-5300.

California Political Review: *In a recent interview in* New Dimensions *magazine you said, "I find it surprising that people think the government will make the public good top priority. That's not what our founders told us." What* should *we expect government to make top priority?*

Keyes: Politicians and bureaucrats really haven't much incentive to serve the public interest. A *bureaucratic* incentive exists, but it's the imperative to expand one's empire and improve one's position through increasing revenues and larger programs that mean more influence, more power, more perquisites. The same is true in the political arena. Politicians stitch together their coalitions by making promises to various and assorted groups: I'll do this for you; I'll spend that on you. As government revenue increases so does their ability to maintain and expand that base of patronage and political support. So the selfish interests of bureaucrats and politicians run counter to the interest of the public they are supposed to serve.

I don't know why folks are surprised at that. Our Founding Fathers told us government was going to operate that way and that, therefore, people have to maintain an active role in defense of their own interests and not to expect a benevolent government to look out for them.

CPR: *Is government waste, then — as defined from the point of view of the public interest at least —* not *an aberration but rather something we should expect if we leave those in government to govern as they will?*

Keyes: I think the cause of the problem is not just that there are wasteful approaches and wasteful systems and people who abuse their privileges. It isn't that waste is endemic. But the pursuit of an ever-larger share of the country's resources *is* endemic to those in government. Our government is like a huge conglomerate that provides goods and services. Our so-called representatives have more and more become not representatives of our interests but sales agents and marketing strategists for these government products — and for the taxes to pay for them. The problem is endemic to government. It discourages efficiency and feeds the juggernaut of waste.

CPR: *California's Gov. Pete Wilson has talked about establishing a kind of Grace Commission for our state. How would you advise such a commission to proceed? What obstacles and opportunities should they expect?*

Keyes: We encourage state level efforts modeled on the Grace Commission. We provide materials on how to go forward, how to cut through the rhetoric and start identifying specific areas where improvements in government operations will save money, and how to recruit people, following the Grace Commission model, from outside of government who can recommend more efficient ways of doing the jobs government performs: accounting, financial

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management, pension funds, data processing, and so forth. That is not to say the private sector is perfectly efficient either, but comparing private and public ways of doing things encourages people to think about improvements and saving money.

Having said all that, I should add that people should not fool themselves. One reason Citizens Against Government Waste exists and that we are working to mobilize people around the country is that no matter how thorough your study is and no matter how good your recommendations are, they'll get nowhere without the political will in the legislature and the executive branch to implement them. *That* is the great challenge.

The federal Grace Commission came up with $424 billion in savings that could have been achieved over a three-year period. To date — which is six to seven years later — we have achieved close to $200 billion of those savings by our estimates. But at the same time problems that were neglected — in the savings and loan area, in accounting at places like HUD — have resulted in hundreds of billions of dollars in losses in that same period of time.

So without a will in the legislature to act — and a lot of what is left to do at the federal level requires Congressional approval that hasn't been forthcoming — without that will a Grace Commission, or mini-Grace Commission at any level, federal or state, means nothing. It's just for show. And it will always *be* for show until the community at large puts pressure on government to become efficient. That means that the legislature's or the executive's political will to do this, if it exists at all, comes from the people. We shouldn't be sitting back and saying okay every time they ask us for higher taxes. We should be organizing ourselves to make it clear that, if you raise our taxes and spending, there will be terrible political consequences: we're going to kick you out.

CPR: *That, of course, is the textbook description of how democracy is supposed to work. Why, though, do the American people seem so docile? We have the vote. Why don't we use it as you suggest? Why do taxes and spending, our democratic system notwithstanding, always go up?*

Keyes: Those in government try, often successfully, to convince us that we have a major stake in the benefits government provides. But balance what they take against what we get and you'll see there is no balance. Government at all levels — the "public sector" — is consuming 42 percent of the gross income of the average median income family in the country. *Forty-two percent.* That means people are working nearly *half* the year — until May 8 or something this year — to acquit their burden to the public sector: federal taxes, state taxes, local taxes, property taxes, excise taxes — all that adds up to nearly half.

CPR: *Are you including time spent meeting bureaucratic regulations, filling out forms?*

Our so-called representatives have more and more become not representatives of our interests but sales agents and marketing strategists for government products — and for the taxes to pay for them.

Keyes: Oh no — not even including that. I'm just talking about money turned over to the government.

CPR: *I'd like to ask about another issue you've been addressing recently: President Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court and, more broadly, the rather stunning way liberals react to black conservatives. In a recent column, for example, you quoted liberal black columnist Carl Rowan as having said, "If they had put David Duke on I wouldn't scream as much because they would look at David Duke for what he is. If you gave Clarence Thomas a little flour on his face, you'd think you had David Duke talking." How do you explain this kind of outburst?*

Keyes: I think the ugly, personal attacks that we're seeing thrown at Clarence have nothing to do with him. You have this decent guy, not in *any* way abrasive or offensive, who has worked his way up from a difficult background — why would anybody harbor animosity toward him?

But the reason these brickbats and ugly, nasty personal remarks are being made is that Clarence Thomas represents a fundamental challenge and contradiction to the dogmatic ideology of some of the radical liberals who have maintained that the *only* way you can address the problem of poor people, black people, and so

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forth, is through the consolidation of power in the government.

These folks have made their livings this way. They have built their reputations and careers on being, in a way, shills for the government welfare establishment. They have redefined all the terms of our public discussion so that if you don't agree with them, you are going to be read out of the ranks of decency. If you are a black person, you are read out of the black race. They get to excommunicate you. From their point of view, Clarence Thomas is a heretic and their reaction is the same reaction of fanatical religious ideologues of several hundred years ago. They want to burn him at the stake. And since, of course, we don't allow such travesties, they do it as best they can verbally and rhetorically.

Affirmative Action is a group rights approach . . . . It isn't affirmative action, it's affirmative apartheid.

CPR: *One criticism is that Thomas, as Ronald Reagan's chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, pursued individual cases of discrimination rather than the class action suits his predecessors emphasized. The idea in class action is less to find the guilt or innocence of particular defendants than to win vast victories intended to reshape society. Is race or racism the real issue in this sort of criticism — and in the whole affirmative action debate — or is it that liberals don't like the idea of individual responsibility, that they prefer to blame society and don't like judges who don't share that preference?*

Keyes: Liberal ideologues have tried to redefine America's concept of rights so we no longer talk about individual rights but about group rights. It's a dangerous trend and completely contradicts the views on which our country was founded. Actually, I would argue that it stands those views on their head. The reason, for instance, that it was wrong to discriminate against blacks wasn't because they were black. The reason it was wrong to discriminate against blacks was that they were human beings and all human beings are entitled to certain rights. That's the premise. Therefore, if I come along and violate your rights because you are black I have contravened your human nature, your dignity as a human being, and that is what makes it unjust.

Now the liberals stand that on its head when they say: the reason I am going to protect your rights is because you belong to a *group* that in the past was the victim of discrimination. They assign preferences to certain groups of people and deduce from that who should be protected and who should not. I try to remind people that *that* was the way the world looked at people before this country was founded. First we agree who is good and who is bad by group and on that basis who has rights and who doesn't have rights.

But in America, all we're supposed to need to know about you is that you are a human being and therefore have certain fundamental rights. That's the Clarence Thomas approach. It emphasizes individual rights. It emphasizes enforcement that will produce redress for individuals, *real* redress, rather than statistics for demagogues to cite to further their political agendas.

CPR: *But its supporters argue that affirmative action removes barriers that divide people thereby reducing group polarization and laying the groundwork necessary to insure that individual rights will be respected.*

Keyes: But affirmative action *is* a group rights approach. It reminds me of the apartheid system in South Africa. Few Americans realize that the apartheid ideology, at an intellectual level, was not justified on grounds that blacks are inferior. No, the ideological argument was: we have these different groups and each group has its rights, its claims that have to be respected. And so the whites have their rights and the blacks have their rights and the different tribes in South Africa have their rights — it was a group-rights ideology. The folks today who preach this quota version of affirmative action are taking us down the same road. It isn't affirmative action, it's affirmative apartheid. It will lead people to an intense emphasis on their group identity, to compete with one another in terms of their group identities. It is therefore going to intensify group resentment, group hatred, and group conflict in this country until we disintegrate into a maelstrom of group violence that we won't be able to control.

That is obviously a recipe for tearing down the fabric of our society rather than building on the common principles that our Founders gave us. We have unify-

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ing principles in America that could keep us from that, that could help us define our common identity without giving up our individuality, without giving up our individual backgrounds and heritage.

***CPR:** Are both the government waste issue and the group versus individual rights question forms of the same question: who will run things, individuals or government?*

Keyes: Well, I would say that if we talk about the agenda of civil rights — the fight against poverty, against racism, against injustice — this is a good agenda. But unhappily it has been hijacked by people who aren't interested in producing results for human beings, only in using our concern about the problems to justify increasing their own power and the power of government. I call it covert totalitarianism. It doesn't come out and announce that the agenda is to take control of the society's resources but uses all these other causes to pursue that goal in a quiet, stealthy way.

If we want to preserve self-government in this country we will have to reassert the tradition of individual rights and, therefore, of individual responsibility. It is a tradition of individual action and initiative. In the economic realm it's one of entrepreneurship rather than government regulation, for instance. These alternatives really are freedom and slavery, the same *old* alternatives that led to the founding of this country and that require each generation to make its choice.

***CPR:** Are black Americans becoming more conservative?*

Keyes: I'm not sure it's a question of liberals, conservatives, and what have you as much as it's a question of common sense. A lot of the views articulated by conservatives — by black conservatives — are really just common sense. Do you want a decent society? Then put an emphasis on strong family values, on a strong sense of moral identity. Do you want to be successful economically? Then emphasize hard work and getting the education you need to do it. Do you want to deal with the problems of crime and drugs? Then inculcate a sense of self-respect and responsibility in people instead of a sense of dependency and passivity and irresponsibility.

Is this ideological? Is this conservatism? I think it's common sense. And within the black community it was the kind of common sense that allowed the race to survive in America despite all the obstacles: all the laws against it, all of the doors that were shut. People survived because, *in spite of* the limited opportunities, they worked hard and prepared themselves and valued things like education and self-discipline that would prepare them for opportunities they could not even enjoy at the time but which they were determined to be prepared for against the day when freedom *was* possible. And I think that approach is subscribed to widely now. Clarence Thomas, for instance, represents a kind of simple, working-class common sense that is the *mainstream* in the black community. It is what most black people have been throughout the history of the country.

But then when you look at the broader community: that's what we *all* have been throughout the history of this country. So these values, reasserted now, are not the special province of black conservatives or conservatives; I think it's just good old American common sense *finally* beginning to rise up against the liberal cant, against the Ph.D.s telling us we no longer can think for ourselves, to say: look, *we* think *we* know what's good for us and, like our founders in the beginning, we have the right to act on that knowledge. That's what self-government means. This is the trend in the country and I think the growth of Citizens Against Government Waste — we've doubled our membership during the last two and one-half years — and similar things we see fermenting all around the country, is a sign the people are ready to take the power back to exercise their responsibilities. My goal is to help them create at the grass roots level the sort of effective networks and organizations to do that. CPR

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Criticus

Bubble and Squeak

G. B. Tennyson

HAVING BROUGHT *l'Académie Française* to its senses on the matter of the *circonflexe* (and herewith I take the pledge not to use that word, in French or English, for at least one full issue) and having alerted President Bush, and derivatively countless others, to the perils of Political Correctness (the proximate cause, I am presuming, of his Michigan speech and of the swarm of treatments of the matter now coursing through, albeit to no apparent good effect as the miscreants are unrepentant), your devoted *Criticus* thought he deserved this time around to sit on his laurels and perhaps take you on a gastronomic tour of the Pearblossom Highway or offer some other divertissement for a lazy summer afternoon. But folly keeps breaking out in all the likely places, and *Criticus* knows it is his duty to call it to your attention. However, to relieve the tedium, I shall try to sprinkle a few peas of amusement amidst the potato mash of wickedness that constitutes the cultural scene.

A RECENT NEWSPAPER article about the chair-person (I use this deplorable form because the incumbent is female and feminist) of a distinguished Southern California private college revealed the professor had had her Damascus Road experience in the classroom when she realized that for personal outside reading her students were favoring authors like Alice Walker and Maxine Hong Kingston. Dubious as this sounds to one whose students read, if they read anything at all, the likes of Steven King and Judith Krantz, we shall accept it as true for the sake of argument.

The problem is the response made to this reading preference revelation: confronted with the alleged student taste in outside reading, the professor decided to make a study of these "popular" authors and was moved to cease or reduce

teaching the old standbys (known in Academia as "the canon") and teach instead or additionally these modern writers. This procedure was hailed by all, including the author of the profiling article, with predictable and now bromidic adjectives like *bold* and *innovative*. But why is it meritorious for a professor to teach that which students are reading and understanding on their own as opposed to that which they are unlikely to read independently *and* unlikely, if they do read, to understand fully because of the lack of historical and linguistic background that they are in school to acquire? To be sure, a little child shall lead them — but to the higher learning?

NOT UNRELATED to the foregoing is the recent report of a visit to Europe by one of the chancellors of a University of California campus. This worthy is reported to have noted that European universities do a better job than American ones in providing their students with a broad liberal education, but they do a much poorer job in promoting ethnic diversity on campus, to which point he recited the usual *mantra* about percentages of different groups in various populations, as though it were self-evident that the chief purpose of the university was not to provide a broad liberal education but to replicate in its student body the percentages of groups in the population at large. But is this self-evident? And when is a group a group anyway? Don't look now but there is a quiet revolution abrewing against even the term "Anglo," increasingly recognized as a coinage by the diversity mongers to, yes, marginalize Caucasians. Besides, "Anglo" is a combining form, not a noun, but of course "they" wouldn't know that. My advice: on the next survey, including the census, everyone should check the ethnic category "Other." Or create your own, such as, "Euro-Afghan-

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Antipodean," or perhaps "Brutal Hun."

MEANWHILE THE problem of diversity dropout at the university is growing. It exceeds 50 percent of the officially designated minority candidates (which category excludes Asians, who are officially not a minority, if you can follow the doublethink). That must change, we are told. And of course it will. Which is where we find the connection with the story of the relevant professor: we will simply change the curriculum so that we teach whatever students, bearing whatever skills they may have, read on their own. That is, if we can get them to read anything at all.

If they choose not to read, why should we be bound to something as outmoded and as inegalitarian as reading anyway? Many class hours are now filled with television and film showings. Some California high schools require "book reports" of up to two whole pages on a single episode of a television sitcom, a practice that could profitably be carried into the university. If that proves too taxing, we could adopt a proposal advanced years back by Russell Kirk: award everyone a Ph.D. at birth, require no schooling at all, and progressively strip degrees from those who insist upon going to school and learning. Completion of grade school loses you the Ph.D., high school takes away your M.A., and so on up (and down) the educational ladder. At the end of the doctoral program, dissertation completed, you will have no degree whatsoever, while all about you the land will be teeming with doctors of philosophy. And we will have solved problems of overcrowding in the schools as well.

THE AFOREMENTIONED chancellor also noted that a far smaller overall proportion, regardless of ethnicity, of the populations in European countries goes to university at all, something on the order of five percent there versus 20 percent here. Again, it was taken as self-evidently good that our colleges should enroll such a large proportion of the population, but it was not noted that these collegiate masses are mainly huddled in educational holding pens where they are educated up to the level of getting a McJob which they can discharge so long as the computerized cash register doesn't fail and oblige them to add and subtract on their own.

And if gentle readers think I ex-

WATCHFUL WORDS

"Watchful Words" is a counterbalancing collection to "Watched Words" that constant readers will recall seeing in this space. The aim of "Watchful Words" is to empower (!) our readers with some privileged (!) and valorized (!) words or terms of their own with which to add to the gaiety of nations. "Watched Words" and/or "Watchful Words" will appear in future numbers as need dictates.

Religentsia

TRENDY CRITICS and other professionally religious persons, e.g., Bishop Spong, who can be counted on to parrot the thought and language of the chattering and largely irreligious classes, while assuring the scandalized faithful that it is all the work of the Holy Spirit.

Liberal Fascism

IMPOSING *LIBERAL WILL* on others in the name of compassion, as for example, declaring all outdoors to be henceforth a non-smoking area in order not to endanger the well-being of foetuses before they are aborted.

Sensitivity Fascists

VIGILANT PUBLIC hunters after outrage, the awareness antennae of liberal fascism. These are the people who write letters to the editor every time the "wrong" word (e.g., Oriental instead of Asian) is used or "insensitive" allusion made (e.g., looking with favor on any earlier period when "women and minorities were routinely oppressed").

Sensitivity Fascists, Goebbels subsection —

Those concerned with coining new terms for newly-perceived sins against political correctness. More on this poison and its antidote in a future number.

Feminazis

THIS WATCHFUL word has been popularized (also coined?) by Rush Limbaugh. It scarcely needs elucidating; like those it describes, it shouts its meaning at you.

— *Criticus*

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aggerate, I offer you the intelligence that for some months now a campus eatery at the largest university in California has periodically offered a dish described as "Chicken al modine." What could that mean? That perhaps the cafeteria had hired a new chef named Al Modine? But closer inspection proved me wrong: there were the telltale almonds. As yet none of the student employees has noted anything odd about it at all. But then foreign language is no longer required.

THE GOOD chancellor said American schools were better at professional training than European ones, though he conceded that European schools were better at foreign language training. Which means that next month we can probably look forward to an offering of "pie *à la mode* with ice cream."

But cheerfulness keeps breaking in. Even as the heart was made sad by these reports from the front, it was also lightened by the reading of an engaging comic novel from 1955 called *Academic Year* by D. J. Enright. It tells of a year spent teaching English literature in Alexandria, Egypt, towards the end of the reign of corrupt King Farouk. The Egyptian students of English are a rather sorry lot, unskilled in the language, lazy, self-serving, given to senseless mutinies, and ever ready to take any advantage to do less work and gain easier grades. The faculty were mainly conscientious but quite without illusions about their work or about their students. There hardly appeared to be any administration as we know it. It made one realize that what has changed most on the university scene since then is the growth of the Frankenstein's monster of administration. Other changes are that America's students resemble ever more Egyptian ones and that American faculty are greatly at ease in Zion. I recommend the book for summer reading.

If such fare seems too frivolous, let me reinforce the implicit recommendation that was made in these pages in the previous number by the publication of the excerpt from Phillip E. Johnson's *Darwin on Trial* by urging you to read the entire book. Once you start with Johnson, you will probably want some additional material in this line, so I recommend the now-classic *Darwin Retired* by Norman Macbeth, the more recent *Evolution: A Theory in Crisis* by Michael Denton, and for the truly adventurous the arresting books by Rupert Sheldrake, *A New Science of Life* and *The Presence of the Past.* These latter two offer the new ways of looking at scientific evidence that Johnson and others see as essential if any alternative theory is to replace bankrupt Darwinism. Of *A New Science of Life* the orthodox scientific journal *Nature* wrote: "Infuriating . . . the best candidate for burning there has been for many years." Who could ask for a stronger recommendation? CPR

BOOKS

Like Peas in a Pod

Reagan and Thatcher, by Geoffrey Smith, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 285 pages, $22.95.

Reviewed by Peter Hannaford

THIS SPRING four books about Ronald Reagan came out at virtually the same time. Three of them — by Kitty Kelley, Haynes Johnson, and Lou Cannon — had as their aim, for one reason or another, the deconstruction of the accomplishments of the 40th president. The fourth, *Reagan and Thatcher*, comes, therefore, as a surprise, for it is a literate, well-balanced examination of the durable relationship between two leaders and the impact they have had on the world.

Kelley's book, a collection of salacious gossip about Nancy Reagan, depicted the president as a pliant oaf led about by a conniving wife. Of the four books, this is the one that got all the publicity. The author's motivation for this hefty volume of supermarket tabloid journalism? Money. It is said she received between three and four million dollars for it.

Cannon, in *President Reagan: the Role of a Lifetime*, and Johnson in

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Sleepwalking Through History criticize Reagan on performance, but this masks what really bothers them: his ideology. Cannon, for whom covering Reagan has been a 20-year meal ticket, likes the man personally (as, indeed, Cannon himself is a likable man), but he cannot overcome the liberal dogma about Reagan — that he is a lazy actor, totally dependent on those around him — long enough to understand the implications of the longest economic expansion in peacetime history, the Reagan Doctrine, or the connection between our defense buildup, the Strategic Defense Initiative, and deployment in Europe of cruise missiles, on the one hand, and the collapse of communism on the other.

While Cannon does give Reagan occasional credit, Johnson, who seems to be pining for the Camelot that never was, sees the world through the lens of liberal orthodoxy exclusively and therefore finds no redeeming qualities in Reagan.

IT IS FOR Geoffrey Smith, a longtime political and international columnist for the *London Times*, to see Reagan dispassionately. He begins at the beginning, as it were, when Reagan and Thatcher first met. This was in her office in Parliament in April 1975. Reagan had left Sacramento three months before; Mrs. Thatcher had just taken over as Conservative party leader. Each had heard a great deal about the other. Reagan liked what he had heard, and apparently, Mrs. Thatcher did, too, for, on meeting, they immediately fell into animated conversation as ideological soulmates. From the beginning, they were like peas in a pod.

Reagan admired Thatcher's intellectual vigor, while Thatcher admired his self-confidence, his instincts and his warm, easy manner

Neither one led a nation at the time of their first and second meetings. Both were to do so within a few months of one another. "This experience of being out in the cold together and then coming in from the cold together was critical to everything that came later. It was an experience that neither could share with any subsequent national leader," Smith writes.

IN TRACING the landmark events of the Reagan-Thatcher relationship, Smith shows that Reagan admired Thatcher's intellectual vigor, while Thatcher admired his self-confidence, his instincts, and his warm, easy manner. Reagan didn't even mind her occasional lecturing. Smith notes that during one telephone lecture from the prime minister on some issue, Reagan cupped his hand over the receiver, turned to his aides in the Oval office and said, "Isn't she marvelous?"

SMITH GIVES ample evidence of the positive personal "chemistry" between the two leaders over the course of their parallel years in office. This, coupled with their "belief in the moral dimension of capitalism, [and] the association of the free market with the free society" gave the relationship so firm a foundation that each could count on the other for policy support, virtually automatically. There were few exceptions (the Falklands war, when immediate public support for Britain was withheld while then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig tried shuttle diplomacy between the two sides; and the invasion of Grenada which, at first, made Thatcher angry, largely because she had not been consulted in advance).

Though quite unlike in personal style and temperament, the two leaders had in common the strong desire to restore their countries' self-confidence, and both succeeded. Thatcher saw that a strong relationship with the United States could magnify Britain's own role in world affairs. Smith says, "With Thatcher there was always the element of calculation." On several occasions, she won Reagan over to her point of view by sheer weight of argument; however, Smith says, "when he felt a proposed policy conflicted with his broad objective, he was not easily budged."

Geoffrey Smith's book is as much about the history of U.S.-U.K. diplomacy and the course of the Western alliance during the Reagan-Thatcher years as it is about the two leaders themselves. The "zero option," the cruise missile deployment, the Strategic Defense Initiative, the annual G-7 ec-

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onomic summits, and other highlights of international affairs of the 1980s are recalled with insight and fascinating detail.

J.F.K. Verité

A Question of Character — A Life of John F. Kennedy, by Thomas C. Reeves, The Free Press, 421 pages, $24.95.

Reviewed by Randy Goodwin

RECALLING THE well-rehearsed rejoinder of Lloyd Bentsen to Dan Quayle in their debate during the 1988 campaign, the *New York Times* reviewed this book under the headline, "He Was No Jack Kennedy." That pretty much sums up this book. The real JFK was nothing at all like the mythical JFK portrayed in the "literature of adulation" handed down to us by what the author calls the "Camelot School" of historians.

Thomas C. Reeves, a University of Wisconsin history professor who told friends during the 1960 campaign that he would move to Canada if Richard Nixon was elected president, has produced a highly readable, frequently enlightening, account of the life of JFK.

WHAT IS more significant is the measurement of this life against the yardstick of character. Not the neutral, amoral definition of character favored by many liberal thinkers, some of whom even eschew the term character in favor of personality (because character implies a moral standard), but character as it is defined by the Western tradition.

Plato believed that development of good character — which means developing the cardinal virtues: wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice — was a prerequisite to the development of a good mind. To Aristotle the moral virtues were justice, courage, and temperance. And they were dependent on prudence, an intellectual virtue. "Christianity added the gifts of God to the classical virtues," Reeves writes, "and for many centuries thinkers praised leaders for possessing faith, hope, and charity as well as prudence, justice, courage, and temperance.

"In this study [of JFK] character recalls its moral content, its relation to virtue as the essential root of the good person and the great leader."

Reeves recognizes that a "strong moral sense of right and wrong" is a fundamental part of our culture and that "Americans hold fast to certain basic moral imperatives and can and do tell right from wrong."

In resisting the *Zeitgeist*, Professor Reeves himself displays the virtue of courage. In the groves of Academe, puncturing the romantic myth of Jack Kennedy as boy wonder, war hero, compassionate leader, and exemplar of a nation is bound to be unpopular.

In this scrupulously documented book (there are 68 pages of end notes) the essential components of the Kennedy myth are exposed as fraudulent. *A Question of Character* provides a convincing account of the moral vacuity, recklessness, and power lust of the Kennedys.

THE GREAT figure who looms over this star-crossed clan is patriarch Joseph P. Kennedy. One cannot understand John F. Kennedy without understanding his father. *Joe's* father had been a state legislator and his mother's brother a mayor of Boston. Like his father, he strove for high political connection and married Rose Fitzgerald, daughter of colorful Boston Mayor "Honey Fitz." Using political influence, he landed a job as a state bank examiner which helped him gain control of the Columbia Trust Company. In the 1920s he made huge amounts of money through bootlegging (mobster Frank Costello testified they were partners), stock manipulation, and production of Hollywood movies. By the end of the decade he was worth more than $100 million.

Joe's chronic infidelities were well-known to Rose and seriously damaged their marriage. She withdrew emotionally from her husband and children. "My mother

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was either at some Paris fashion house or else on her knees in some church," Jack told a friend. "She was never there when we really needed her . . . . My mother never really held me and hugged me. Never! Never!"

Aided by vast wealth and an acute understanding of politics and manipulation, Joe Kennedy taught that winning was everything and it didn't matter how you won. Playing rough was part of the game and his ultimate goal was to elect a son president of the United States.

When eldest son, Joe Jr., was killed in August of 1944 in the explosion of an experimental bomber designed to destroy "buzz bomb" launching ramps in France, the devastated Joe Sr. transferred his ambitions to Jack.

FROM THE beginning of JFK's political career until he was president, his father was the mastermind of every campaign and was deeply involved in all major decisions.

At a tense backroom political meeting in 1946, attended by Jack, his father, and some local Boston pols, Jack was accused of being a "carpetbagger" and an "interloper." Joe was quoted as saying, "Why, you fellas are crazy. My son is going to be president in 1960."

A family friend, James Reed, remembers an evening with Jack (before his election to Congress), Joe Sr., and Honey Fitz, at which the elder Kennedy

> proposed a toast to the future president of the United States — he looked right at Jack — to which everyone joined in. It was not really said in any degree of levity or frivolity. It was a serious toast, really, that was proposed to Jack, and I think everyone there thought that one day Jack would be president . . . .

In 1957, Joe told the *Saturday Evening Post* of his desire to see Jack as president and sons Bobby and Teddy as attorney general and U.S. senator respectively. When Jack was elected president, his father insisted that Bobby be named attorney general even though he was only 34 years old and had never practiced law. Both Jack and Bobby had reservations about the move but yielded to their father's brazen demand.

LBJ reportedly told Henry "Scoop" Jackson, "Hell, Scoop, they [Bobby and JFK] didn't want me. They wanted you. It was the old man who wanted me."

When Jack's U.S. Senate seat became vacant due to his ascendancy to the White House, his father demanded that he breach a promise made to his close friend and political ally, Congressman Torbert MacDonald, that he would support him for the Senate. The elder Kennedy wanted that seat for Teddy though he was only 28, two years under the minimum age requirement for a U.S. Senator. Joe favored a caretaker appointee who would serve two years and not run for election to a full term. So, pressured by his father, Jack supported the appointment of his old Harvard roommate Benjamin Smith, who understood that this would be Teddy's Senate seat come 1962.

Joe may also have been responsible for the selection of Lyndon Johnson as the vice-presidential nominee at the 1960 convention. LBJ reportedly told Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson, "Hell, Scoop, they [Bobby and JFK] didn't want me. They wanted you. It was the old man who wanted me."

Joe's notorious womanizing was a family trait encouraged in his sons. Jack's compulsive sexual exploits both before and after marriage were well known to insiders yet unreported by a friendly press. Extended liaisons with Judith Campbell Exner (moll of Chicago mob boss Sam Giancana), and a deteriorating, unstable Marilyn Monroe (the FBI impounded then "lost" her telephone records after she died) threatened to jeopardize national security and compromise the office of the president. Kennedy's dedication to hedonistic pursuits included experimenting with dangerous drugs while in the White House.

REEVES DEMONSTRATES how Kennedy hid his debilitated physical condition, exaggerated his intellectual achievements, and vacillated in his commitment to moral and religious principles. He critically examines the carefully embellished public image of a courageous and caring intellectual leader versus the private reality of Kennedy's contempt for the values of fidelity, compassion, and honesty.

Reeves closes by saying Kennedy "arrogantly and irresponsibly violated his covenant with the people." His inspiring oratory, charm, wit, and political skills were all desirable. "But," he writes, "all of these qualities must be connected to an effort to live and lead by those values, known and declared for centuries, that link good character with effective leadership." CPR

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Pete Wilson's Art of Compromise

(Continued from page 13)

or's budget its 54th "aye" vote to put it over the top, former supporters in his San Gabriel Valley district may be comforted to know that Horcher is a man of his word.

In addition, Wilson's party — its office holders, the members of its Central Committee, its volunteer organizations, its statewide membership — is split down the middle, and not over some transitory quibble but over an issue that goes to the heart of the GOP's motivating and defining idea. Wilson has opened a Republican War of the Roses that promises to be long, vicious, and characterized by inconclusive outcomes like those of July 23 when Wilson candidates won one bitterly-fought special election for state Assembly while losing another. For a while at least, California Republican politics is likely to be characterized more by internecine blood-letting than by attacks on the Democrats. What cause or leader remains to rally and unify the troops? Wilson's early months in office have defined him in many Republican minds not as their champion against the common enemy but as a leader of a faction within the party determined to smash his internal opponents while compromising with Democrats.

SO MUCH for politics. What about policy? For more than a decade, a bitter war over how California should be governed, whose chief battleground has been the annual budget fight, has proceeded in Sacramento. One side is led by men and women whose firm conviction it is that the world is arranged unjustly and stupidly and that it is their responsibility to control and use government power to set matters right. Progress, for them, is taking control of larger portions of the peoples' wealth to use to improve the world and atone for injustices. During the past decade, their primary opponents have been Republicans in state government, mainly those in the Assembly Republican Caucus and Gov. George Deukmejian. Since Jerry Brown left town, neither side has been powerful enough to prevail decisively. The left has succeeded in thwarting attempts to control spending but has been unable to raise taxes. These contradictory policies led to the present "crisis," which provided the basis for a concerted public campaign to expose and discredit the Democrats' irresponsibility. The sheer idiocy of their socialist assumptions has now been affirmed worldwide, so making the case here would have been relatively easy.

But along came Pete Wilson who strides above these petty matters like a colossus. He quickly saw that an alliance with the Democrats would bring a relatively quick and easy peace since such an alliance would, for the first time in nearly a decade, bring overwhelmingly superior power to one of the sides in the battle. Remaining with his Republican allies in the Legislature would have meant a long, arduous struggle, and Pete Wilson dislikes long, arduous struggles. He has other objectives, personal objectives, in mind.

THE RESULT was a foregone conclusion. In terms of policy, the people lost. The decade-long spending spree, the 10-year campaign to increase the portion of the peoples' wealth that government controls, ended in victory for the left, and the stage is set for further such victories in the future.

But, Wilson would argue, the situation was intolerable. The state must be governed. I didn't have the votes to do the right thing. At least the crisis is resolved. Now we can move forward like Reagan who, after all, began with a huge tax increase of his own. But even assuming, for the sake of argument, Wilson's defeatist premise, it is hardly clear the crisis is past. For one thing, times were different when Reagan's tax hike was enacted, as McClintock points out:

"California was poised for an era of unprecedented growth. Businesses were taking numbers to get into California. The amount of regulation was minimal. The economic climate was superb and, in addition, the federal government was pouring billions and billions of defense dollars into the state because this was the staging area for the build-up in Vietnam.

"In 1991, businesses are tripping over one another to get out. We have the most burdensome anti-business regulations in the country. The federal government is pulling billions of defense dollars out of the state and we have exhausted our infrastructure because we haven't added to it since Pat Brown's day. To believe that in such circumstances you could add $8 billion in new tax increases and have the same results as Ronald Reagan is absurd."

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On Wilson's side of the ledger, the governor points to several reforms passed as part of his package: the transfer of $2.3 billion in health care and social services from state to local authorities, reduced disincentives for welfare recipients to work, and reforms that make the public employee retirement system operate more like private sector retirement plans and that make taxpayer contributions to state workers' health plans subject to collective bargaining. The package also contains a five-year suspension of automatic cost of living increases for some "entitlement" programs, tougher enforcement of child support payment laws to relieve the state's welfare burden, measures to reduce fraudulent workers' compensation claims, Medi-Cal restructuring to increase efficiency, and changes in trial court operations expected to save $292 million. Finally, at a cost of $93 million, the Wilson package institutes or expands a series of "preventive" educational programs designed to reduce welfare, prison, and other costs later by heading off problems early.

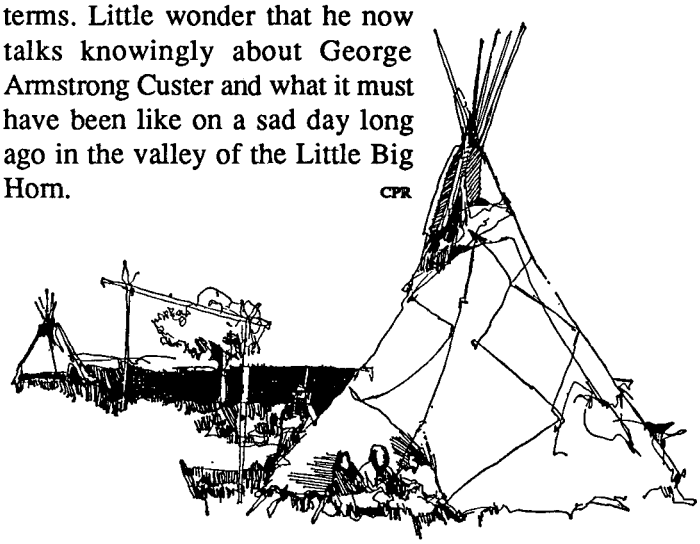
Fine, but the point of the Reagan comparison is to say, in effect, we have put the major problem behind us, an achievement worth the pain of this one-time cure. Will the governor's budget reforms and tax increases, in fact, do this? According to administration figures given legislators on June 16, the budget package is designed to produce $46.4 billion in revenues for state government during 1991-92, including $2.75 billion in one-time savings used to fund permanent spending increases. The governor projected that 1992-93 revenues will increase an additional $1.9 billion, to $48.4 billion. So, adding 2.75 and 1.9, balancing next year's budget would require a $4.65 billion — 10.1 percent — increase in state revenues next year. Balancing the projected 1993-94 budget requires 8.9 percent additional growth the year after that. But the whole budget "gap" problem resulted when less optimistic past projections of growth in state government revenue failed to materialize. Remember, the gap did not result from any decline in government revenues but from slower than projected increases. Now the state's economy is expected to take on nearly $8 billion in new taxes and perform so splendidly that government revenues will grow much faster than now. The Wilson as Sober-Minded Realist image wavers before our eyes.

PETE WILSON is today comparing himself to Gen. Custer because he failed to understand the nature of the conflict over the state budget. That led him to misunderstand both the character and objectives of his opponents, to fail to deploy the considerable moral and political resources available to support his position, and finally to go to battle against his own position's strongest supporters, the conservative Republicans in the California Assembly.

Wilson sees himself as the serious professional up against a variety of amateurish, self-indulgent ideologues and demagogues of both left and right with feet planted firmly in the air. His repeated sneering about the "political grandstanding" and "partisan posturing" of others portrays a man to whom the deadly serious conflict between freedom and socialism, the conflict that defines American politics, is largely invisible and of little interest. Wilson seems unaware that the Democrats' first objective is not to "solve" the budget crisis but to destroy Gov. Pete Wilson whose office they crave and that, to that end, they have maneuvered him into supporting ruinous tax increases and bloated government growth. They thereby feed their special interest constituencies while demoralizing, dividing, and alienating Wilson's constituencies from him.

Indeed, while the governor talks about the importance of maintaining good relations with legislative Democrats, he seems to have gone out of his way to embarrass and offend every element of the coalition that elected him. He has declared war on social conservatives even though winning the votes of so-called Reagan Democrats by appealing to *their* social conservatism has been the key to GOP presidential and gubernatorial victories in California for more than a decade. Now Wilson's budget package has alienated economic conservatives, the other major wing of the Republican party.

The budget battle pitted entrenched special interests and their agents in government, who live by taking wealth they haven't produced, against the general interest of the productive people of California who are forced to foot the bill. For better or worse, the people had Pete Wilson as their champion. Unfortunately, Wilson dislikes stirring up the grass roots. It smacks too much of "political grandstanding" and "partisan posturing" and so, instead, the governor tried to outdeal the Democrats on their own turf and on their own terms. Little wonder that he now talks knowingly about George Armstrong Custer and what it must have been like on a sad day long ago in the valley of the Little Big Horn. CPR



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Worth Repeating

The Reality of Feminism

by Kay Ebeling

THE OTHER day I had the world's fastest blind date. A Yuppie from Eureka penciled me in for 50 minutes on Friday and met me at a watering hole in the rural northern California town of Arcata. He breezed in, threw his jammed daily planner on the table, and shot questions at me, watching my reactions as if it were a job interview. He eyed how much I drank. Then he breezed out to his next appointment. He had given us 50 minutes to size each other up and see if there was any chance for romance. His exit was so fast that as we left he let the door slam back in my face. It was an interesting slam.

Most of our 50-minute conversation had covered the changing state of male-female relationships. My blind date was 40 years old, from the Experimental Generation. He is "actively pursuing new ways for men and women to interact now that old traditions no longer exist." That's a real quote. He really did say that, when I asked him what he liked to do. This was a man who'd read *Ms.* magazine and believed every word of it. He'd been single for 16 years but had lived with a few women during that time. He was off that evening for a ski weekend, meeting someone who was paying her own way for the trip.

I too am from the Experimental Generation, but I couldn't even pay for my own drink. To me, feminism has backfired against women. In 1973 I left what could have been a perfectly good marriage, taking with me a child in diapers, a 10-year-old Plymouth, and Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Ms.* I was convinced I could make it on my own. In the last 15 years my *ex* has married or lived with a succession of women. As he gets older, *his* women stay in their 20s. Meanwhile, I've stayed unattached. He drives a BMW. I ride buses.

TODAY I SEE feminism as the Great Experiment That Failed, and women in my generation, its perpetrators, are the casualties. Many of us, myself included, are saddled with raising children alone. The resulting poverty makes us experts at cornmeal recipes and ways to find free recreation on weekends. At the same time, single men from our generation amass fortunes in CDs and real-estate ventures so they can breeze off on ski weekends. Feminism freed men, not women. Now men are spared the nuisance of a wife and family to support. After childbirth, if his wife's waist doesn't return to 20 inches, the husband can go out and get a more petite woman. It's far more difficult for the wife, now tied down with a baby, to find a new man. My blind date that Friday waved goodbye as he drove off in his RV. I walked home and paid the sitter with laundry quarters.

The main message of feminism was: woman, you don't need a man; remember, those of you around 40, the phrase: "A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle"? That joke circulated through "consciousness raising" groups across the country in the '70s. It was a philosophy that made divorce and cohabitation casual and routine. Feminism made women disposable. So today a lot of females are around 40 and single with a couple of kids to raise on their own. What's worse, we asked for it. Many women decided: you don't need a family structure to raise your children. We sent them off to day-care centers where they could get their nurturing from professionals. Then we put on our suits and ties and took off on the Great Experiment, convinced there was no difference between us and the guys in other offices.

HOW WRONG we were. Because like it or not, women have babies. It's this biological thing that's just there, these organs we're born with. The truth is, a woman can't live the true feminist life unless she denies her childbearing biology. She has to live on the pill, or have her tubes tied at an early age. Then she can keep up with the guys with an uninterrupted career and then, when she's 30, she'll be paying her own way on ski weekends too.

The reality of feminism is a lot of frenzied and overworked women dropping kids off at day-care centers. If the child is sick, they just send along some children's Tylenol and then rush off to underpaid jobs that they don't even like. I'm not advocating that women retrogress to the brainless housewives of the '50s. Post-World War II women were the first to be left with a lot of free time, and they weren't too creative in filling it. Perhaps feminism was a reaction to that bored housewife and in that respect feminism has served a purpose.

Women should get educations so they can be brainy in the way they raise their children. Women can start small businesses, do consulting, write free-lance out of the home. But women don't belong in 12-hour-a-day executive office positions, and I can't figure out today what ever made us think we would want to be there in the first place. As long as that biology is there, women can't compete equally with men. A ratio cannot be made using disproportionate parts. Women and men are not equal, we're different.

SOMETIMES ON Saturday nights I'll get dressed up and go out club-hopping or to the theater, but the sight of all those other women my age, dressed a little too young, made up to hide encroaching wrinkles, looking hopefully into the crowds, usually depresses me. I end up coming home to spend my Saturday night with my daughter asleep in her room nearby. At least the NBC Saturday-night lineup is geared to women at home alone. CPR

Excerpted from the Winter 1991 issue of the Human Life Review. *Kay Ebeling is a free-lance writer living in California.*

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Congress Is Out of Control!

And this is the one place you can get the whole story.

Not since the heyday of liberalism in the '60s and '70s has the United States been faced with a Congress so committed to the destructive course set by the radical left.

Unfortunately, as the recent budget fight showed, President Bush seems unable — or in many cases unwilling — to use the power of his office to stop them.

And this new liberal-left onslaught —strengthened by the November elections — may ultimately be the most damaging to our country yet. Let's look at just a few examples:

- The Budget/Deficit "Reduction" Act which imposes the biggest tax hike in history, allows spending to increase enormously and will, in fact, create a larger budget deficit next year — facts the national media conveniently obscured.
- The Americans With Disabilities Act, which created huge new classes of "disabled" people (including but not limited to: drug addicts; AIDS patients; drunks; psychotics; and maybe even transvestites) and will force employers to hire them no matter what the problem or cost.
- The outrageously expensive Clean Air Act, which will impose untold expense—conservative estimates run upwards of $100 billion—and will cost tens of thousands of jobs, yet will yield little improvement in our environment for the price.
- The New Child Care Act, which will create huge new federal bureaucracies and generate massive new regulations to solve a problem best left to individual families.
- The Ted Kennedy-sponsored "Civil Rights Act of 1990," which tried to reimpose a "quota" system in hiring, pushing us even farther away from President Reagan's dream of a "color-blind" society.
- Massive new mandated health and maternity benefit programs that will cost businesses — and, eventually, consumers — billions and may actually result in much poorer health insurance covering many workers who may not want or need it.
- Budget *increases* for the National Endowment for the Arts. Even as American taxpayers are outraged by the blasphemy and pornography sponsored by the Endowment, their budget was increased — allowing the NEA to fund even more outrageous "art."

And to top it all off, under huge pressure from the media and the liberals in Congress — and unfortunately from many within his own Administration— President Bush has now broken his pledge of "No new taxes."

With Ronald Reagan gone, the floodgates of liberalism are open. By now you have probably already realized that there's just no way you are getting the whole truth from your current news sources.

That's why *Human Events*, The National Conservative Weekly, is an absolutely vital addition to your life. Only with *Human Events* will you get the other side of the argument: The real agenda of the Earth Day crowd; the untold damage the Clean Air Act will do to our economy; the people who will actually benefit from the Americans With Disabilities Act (and believe me, it's not the 16-year-old kids in wheelchairs paraded in front of the TV cameras); and so many other important stories you will never see anywhere else.

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